App. F. IX-4

Previous References

Letter References.

1936.
(Mazrai)

Prisoner

File No. 150-36

Serial Nos. 1 3 4 +5

GENERAL AND REVENUE SECRETARIAT.

Serial Nos. 3

Part B for 1936 1937

SUBJECT.

January 1937 d. C Guntur.
Re entry of Harijans into Muzrai
Managed Hindu temples -

WD 0418—GPB—22,500—29-8-36

GENERAL AND REVENUE SECRETARIAT.

(Home)

NOTES.

File No.

FILE HEADING.

FROM

No. Dated Received

Diary No.	Enclos.	Spare copies	Serial No.

BRIEF ABSTRACT OF LETTER

NOTES AND ORDERS.

NOTES—First Sheet

requested to be in charge of the Resolution proposed to be brought at the R.A. Session (October 1976) and to oppose it when moved.

2. There is also the question of permitting Harijans to enter the Temple at Belur up to the limit to which Non-Hindus are at present being allowed. The file relating to this with connected previous references including the one relating to the R.A Resolution of Oct. 1976, have been submitted to the First Member for favour of orders on 4.11.1976 and its return is awaited

3 R.A. is for issuing printed up an extract of discussion re: resolution No 4 perhaps of the last R.A. on the same subject — attach

4 Extracts are put up in the linked file (D. No: 896 of R.A Office)

Mary Grandey

The reply of Govt to the Resolution No 4 of R.A (Oct '76) is contained in the last page of the proceedings (R.A. Resolutions) in the linked file

in the linked File (A No 5-5-R 96-37)

5-93-1 G

L.C. Resolution re. Hindu Law
[illegible]

General and Revenue Secretariat | Home File No. | of 193 | [App. F. III—2

Serial No.

6) The file at A supra is before the Finance Member in connection with the question of the temple century at Belur. If approval is given, this will be asked to be in charge of the management and appointment of, as pointed out, as heretofore with regard to the time of N. R. Sethuraja.

DEWAN'S OFFICE
29 DEC. 1936
No. 2257

Gen Secy)

Yes
24/12/36

Yes
23/12

GENERAL SECRETARY
22 DEC. 1936
31467

Finance Member)

Yes
27/12/36

Yes
28/12

Dewan)

7) I should like R.C. Hindu opinion on the subject & obtain approval. It is an important subject & the views expressed should be such as to allay & avoid any unfavourable criticism & adverse comment. The favourable sanction of the Change

OFFICE OF THE SECOND MEMBER OF COUNCIL
29 DEC 1936
No. 4272

PC-Please bring on a draft
Yes
30/12

Yes
29-12-36

NOTE—Contn. Sheet.

W D 0417—GPB—30,000—S 9-35

Yes Secy
Please issue
DO letter put up
Yes
30/12

File No. Mis 15 - of 193 .

General and Revenue Secretariat

Serial No.

84

L.C. Resolution regarding [illegible]
Mysore in the matter of

General and Revenue Secretariat Misc. File No. of 193 . [App. F. III—2

Misc. D'no-

D. O.

OFFICE OF THE MUZRAI COMMISSIONER IN MYSORE,

Mr. K. V. Anantaraman, B.A.,
Muzrai Commissioner.

Bangalore,... 15th January *1937*.

GENL. & REV. SECRETARIAT 674 16. JAN. 1937 MUZRAI BRANCH

Confidential

SEC 16 JAN. [illegible] 34 Misc. No. 37 1936-37

466

My dear Venkatesiengar,

With reference to your D.C. letter No. 886/Muz. dated the 30th ultimo, I enclose herein a Note on the subject of Temple Entry.

I shall be glad if you will obtain the orders of Government in the matter and communicate them early.

Yours sincerely,
K. Chandrasekhara.

Recd 15/1/37
Please give me the file
16/1/37

OFFICE 2657

Submitted with the D.O. letter dated 15/1/37

M. Venkatesa Iyengar Esq., M.A.,
General Secretary to Government.

(Gen Secy)

OFFICE OF THE SECOND MEMBER OF COUNCIL. 1937 NO. 495-7

For perusal of the note submitted by the Muzrai Commr. in accordance with orders in para 9. The note seems suitable. I have suggested a few minor changes.

16/1/37

Second Member

Secy (Gen Secy)

a typed copy as revised.

18-1-37

NOTE—Contn. Sheet.

WD 0417—APB—80,000—8-36

b) [illegible] January 1937

[illegible] File No. [illegible] of 193[illegible]. General and Revenue Secretariat

Serial No.

Do No: 8 dated 19/1/37 to the Resy Commr in Mysore issued

6/1 H Mur Secy

Please put up the file re. Mysr. Govt's reply to the resolution re. Temple Entry for the perusal of the Hon'ble Member.

Illegible
21/1/37

+++

7) When was Temple Entry Bill passed in Baroda? Please ~~take~~ note early if copy is available.

Illegible
29/1/37

1/2 The connected file is submitted

1/2 The Temple Entry Legislation in Hindu temples in Baroda was submitted during the year 1932-33 (vide page 108 of the Administration Report on the Baroda State for 1932-33)

Illegible
a/1/1

L.C. Resolution re Leave
January 1937

General and Revenue Secretariat Mug File No. of 193(. D1471 [App. F. III—2

Serial No.

For perusal.
2
21/1/-

Gen Secy) Qud 21/1/37

OFFICE OF THE FIRST MEMBER
21 JAN. 1937
No. 4346

First Member) Jps 21/1/37

Qud 25/1/-

Please ask L.C. Office for kindly putting up a copy of the proceedings ~~on the above subject~~ relating to the resolution referred to above

Bors 18/2

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY TO THE REPRESENTATIVE OF H.E.H. THE NIZAM IN THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL
13 FEB. 1937

18.2.37. Proof copy of the concerned proceedings is put up.

Muzaffar 7.5.37

Jps 7.5.37

A copy of the printed proceedings (proof received from the L.C. Office is submitted for perusal. Govt have promised to consider the suggestion about the formation of a committee & to go into the question. Submitted for orders

Bors 17/5

NOTE—Contn. Sheet.

WD 0417—GPB—80,000—8-9 36

Resolution of the Legislative Council regarding the admission of Harijans into temples.

Mug File No. of 193 . | General and Revenue Secretariat

Serial No.

26. In connection with a resolution on the admission of Harijans into temples moved at a session of the Legislative Council held in December 1932, the Hindu member has observed that the position of Govt. in temples is that of a trustee and that they have to be managed in accordance with tradition, practice and usage. He has stated that there are legal difficulties in the way and that Govt. cannot issue therefore any general order directing the admission of Harijans into Murugai institutions. (Vide the Hindu member's final note in file No. Mug. 114-32, serials 1-5, 11-2). The Murugai Comm. has dealt with the difficulties confronting Govt. in regard to this question in greater detail in his speech on the resolution on this subject moved at the last session of the Legislative Council. He states that temples were not established by Govt. and that the position of Govt. in such institutions is that of a trustee. The duty of Govt. as a trustee is merely to carry out the objects of the persons who created the

Resolution of the Legislative Council regarding the admission of Harijans into temples

Serial No.

trust, i.e, persons who endowed temples, ~~who~~ People have endowed temples with the object of carrying on worship in temples in accordance with usage and the Shastras, i.e. Agamas. By compelling the admission of Harijans into temples, Govt. would be compelling people to carry on worship in them in contravention of Agamas, since the exclusion of Harijans from temples is a Sastraic injunction as stated by the Muzrai Comr. As Govt. are not owners of temples but are only trustees they do not seem to be legally competent to order the admission of Harijans into temples in contravention of the Agamas. The appointment of a Committee to consider the Temple Entry question will not enable Govt. to get over the legal and other difficulties confronting Govt. in regard to this question, ~~which~~ referred to in the first member's final note and the Muzrai Comr's speech at the last ~~same~~ session of the Legislative Council. Attention is invited to the extract of the proceedings of the last session of the

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NOTE—Contn. Sheet.

WD 0417--GPE—30,000 - 8-9-36

10) Resolution of the Legislative Council regarding the admission of Harijans into temples.

Army File No. of 193 | General and Revenue Secretariat

Serial No.

Legislative Council, which contains a verbatim report of the Premier's speech on the subject and the previous official note on the subject flagged X. It is therefore a point for consideration whether any purpose will be served by the appointment of a committee to consider the question. If approved the Premier may be consulted on this point unofficially.

17.5.37. 27. Mr Subrama Chetty said Mr. Speaker Sir his proposition in case Govt. sympathetically considered the question to appoint a committee, and the Dewan President replied that the question will be duly considered by the Government. The point for consideration now is as to the formation of a committee to go into the question of the admission of Harijans into the temples, and whether the appointment of a committee is considered necessary, is for orders.

18 MAY 1937 2399

2/17/37.

The proceedings (in particular the concluding words) are on record. For orders whether a Committee shd be appointed.

2nd 20/5/1937

First Member

I announced at the Legve Cl the decision of Govt that no useful purpose wd be served by the appt of such a Committee

20 MAY 1937

8/7/37

8/7/37

Serial No.

The L.C. Office for kindly noting the orders and to return this file.

(Pass 23.7.37
23/7/37
noted and pass to the Hony Br.)

23/7/37

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
23 JULY 1937
REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY AND LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

B 23/7/37

WD 0417--GPB—30,000 - 8 9 36

File No. of 193 .

General and Revenue Secretariat

Serial No.	

MYSORE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL

January Sessions

-- :0: --

Resolutions.

15 That this Council recommends to the Government of His Highness the Maharaja that steps be taken to ~~prevent~~ permit the Adikarnatakas, Adidravidas and other so-called un-touchables classes of the Hindu Community to enter into all the Hindu temples, under the control or management of the Government Muzrai Department for prayer and worship subject to such rules and conditions as may be imposed by the Government for the due performance of any rituals or ceremonies in those temples.

Mover:- Mr. D.H. Chandrasekharaiya.

GENL. & REV. SECRET 59 21. DEC. 1936 IAT UZRAI BRANCH

THE MYSORE LEGICLATIVE COU[illegible]

JANUARY SESSION - 1937

--

Resolution.

29
~~35~~. This Council recommends to the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore that they will be pleased to permit the Adikarnatakas, Adiaravidas and other Untouchable Classes of the Hindu Community to enter and worship at all the Hindu temples under the management of the Government Muzrai Department, subject to such rules and conditions as may be laid down and imposed by Government for preserving the proper atmosphere and maintaining the rituals and observations in the Temples.

Movers:- Messrs. P. Subbrama Chetty, [illegible]. Bhashyam Iyengar, P. Puruguseh Pillay, K. Chengalaraya Reddy, P. Ramachandra, N.T. Narayanmurty, and [illegible]. Ramachandra Rao Bindia.

IMMEDIATE.

BR

No. 2572-74 L. C.

Encls. eight only

Office of the Secretary, Mysore Legislative Council,

Bangalore, Dated, 21 DEC 1936

GENL & REV. SECRETARIAT
21. DEC. 1936
MUZRAI BRANCH

Mag P.S.O. - 36 - 13

MEMO

The accompanying four resolution(s) received from the members of the Legislative Council for being moved at the ensuing session of the Council is/are forwarded in advance to the ..... Muzarai ..... Branch for necessary action.

Should any resolution(s) be disallowed by the President, the same will be intimated in due course. Officers who will be in charge of the resolution(s), if moved, and the attitude of Government may kindly be intimated before ..... 20.12.1936 .....

Nos. 15.16.29 41
= 4

Secretary,
Mysore Legislative Council.

18/21 12 36

The Mysore Legislative Council
January 1937

--

41

That this Council recommends to the Government of His Highness the Maharaja that they be pleased to permit the Adikarnatakas, Adidravidas and other untouchable classes of the Hindu community to enter and worship in all the Hindu temples under the management of the Government Muzrai Department.

Mover.- Mr. D.S. Mallappa.

886 Misc-3
Mesc 150-36-14

Dear Mr. Anantaraman,

I am desired to enclose herewith copies of resolutions regarding the entry of Harijans into temples proposed to be brought up before the next session of the Legislative Council and to request you to be in charge of the resolution and explain the position of Government. As it is an important subject and the views expressed on behalf of Government should be such as to rather than invite criticism and avoid adverse comments from advocates of the change, I am to ask you to kindly prepare a note on the subject and obtain approval of Government before

Yours sincerely,

K.V.Anantaraman, Esq., M.A.,
Muzrai Commissioner in Madras,

Admission of Adikarnatakas and Adi Dravidas and other untouchable classes of the Hindu community to all Temples under the management of ~~Government~~ the Muzrai Department.

* * * * *

This subject has been coming up for discussion before the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council during the last 5 or 6 years, in fact, ever since the Harijan movement was taken up by the Congress and a great propaganda in favour of the movement was organized in British India. A Resolution to this effect was moved in the Legislative Council at its December Session in 1932. The official members of the House did not vote on the motion. On behalf of Government, the then Second Member of Council stated that while Government sympathised with the objects embodied in the Resolution, they found it difficult to accept it for the following reasons.--

(1) The Muzrai Institutions are large in number and varied in character including temples for which the Government made only a nominal grant.

(2) There were legal difficulties in the way of Government complying with the request contained in the Resolution.

(3) In social and religious matters, action by Government would be possible only if there was a large measure of co-operation from the general public, in giving effect to rules.

2. A Resolution to a like effect was brought before the last Session of the Representative Assembly. The subject was debated upon at great length. It was found that there was a large volume of opinion against the proposed reform. Eleven people spoke against the measure. One member pointed out that it would be better if the reformers concentrated their efforts on other disabilities which were more easy of removal, such as, the removal of the existing ban on marriage processions of depressed classes passing along the public roads. Another member referred to the acute differences that existed between different sections of the depressed classes. Yet another member referred to the fact that the supporters of the Reform were not really voicing the opinion of the public although they came to represent them. He challenged the supporters of the Resolution to stand for the ensuing elections on the Temple Entry ticket. The resolution was, after long discussion, withdrawn, ~~obviously~~ in view of the strong opposition that developed against the Resolution.

3. The subject is at present one of All-India importance. So far as British India is concerned, the question has been adopted as one of the main planks on the platform of the Indian National Congress. The subject has gained ~~in~~ importance in view of the large population of the depressed classes and of the adjustment of the franchise on the basis of the voting strength of particular communities. The Travancore Proclamation admitting all Hindus, irrespective of caste, into State owned temples, has given a great

impetus to the spread of the movement. be pointed out that the first State to is such a proclamation was the (small) State of Baroda ~~Sandur in the Madras Presidency~~. This wa son ba 7 yan af 4 ~~done so far back as 1912~~; but owing to small number of temples affected by the proc mation, the change effected did not attract much attention. In Travancore, there has been a movement, on the part of certain commun ties (which had been kept down, to improve thei position. The most important community among Avarnas in Travancore, viz., the Ezhava commu nity, stands out from the others, on account of its educational and economic superiority. Ezhavas are (a little more than Nairs in popula- tion. They are little, if at all, below the Savarnas in their standard of life. The movement for temple entry in Travancore was started by Ezhavas long before it was thought of in British India. So far as Mysore is con- cerned, the movement is of recent origin, and has developed more or less as a reflex of the movement in British India. It is interesting to notice that the present agitation for temple entry which we find throughout India is not conducted by Avarnas so much as by their Savarna sympathisers. It ~~was~~ is not clear from the discussions that have taken place here, that there has been any demand on the part of the depressed classes in Mysore to enter temples belonging to other communities. In Mysore, each community has its own temples, often times with its own peculiar form of worship; and it is not usual for persons of one

sect, to visit institutions belonging to another community. The depressed classes have their own places of worship, have their own method of worship and their own pujaris. There has not been any real demand from the depressed classes for permission to enter temples where other communities worship.

4. On the question of temple entry, there are two conflicting schools of thought. There is on the one hand, the intelligensia who are all out for democracy, equality and fraternity, and who want all communities to be allowed into temples. There is, on the other hand, the conservative or sanatanist school of thought which considers that if avaranas enter into the temples, there will be pollution and that according to agamas, proper worship cannot be conducted. A compromise between these two schools of thought does not seem to be a feasible proposition. The former view is based on sentiment and the latter on the authority of the shastras and agamas. The temples are places of worship established, consecrated and continued according to sastras. The sastras lay down that if worship is not carried on according to ~~shastras~~, the temples lose their sanctity. In the latter event, the idols are no more than ordinary stone or clay and they lose all their sanctity and virtue. The exclusion of Avaranas from temples is a shastraic injunction. So far as Mysore is concerned, not only is there no ~~appreciable~~ demand from the depressed classes to be admitted into temples, but even among the savaranas, the opinion in favour of the reform

is not very strong. At the last meeting of the Representative Assembly, a considerable amount of opposition to the reform was noticed.

5. The subject has come into lime light as a result of the decision of the Government of Travancore to allow avaranas into their State temples. In a matter of religious belief and practice, it is impossible for one State or area to follow the course of action adopted by another State or area. Everything will depend upon the peculiar conditions of the area in which the reform is attempted to be carried out. Without entering into a discussion of the action taken in Travancore, I think it is permissible to refer to certain broad difficulties differences between the conditions prevailing in Travancore and Mysore which make it obvious that what is possible and necessary in Travancore, may not be possible or necessary in Mysore. The movement for temple entry in Travancore is a very old one and has been carried on by a community which though falling technically under avarnas occupies a position in society not inferior to the savarnas in point of wealth, education, culture and devotion. In the course of a large number of years, a considerable volume of savarna opinion has been organised in favour of the reform. It will have been noticed that many savarnas of position from all sections and grades of society have come forward and expressed themselves in favour of the reform introduced by the Government of Travancore. There has also been a political circumstance

which has operated in favour of that measure, and that is, the danger of conversion into Islam or Christianity. It has been stated in the Report of the Temple Entry Enquiry Committee in Travancore, that 5 Lakhs of avarnas have renounced Hinduism in the last 50 years. Thirdly, it is a well-known fact that orthodoxy is far more rigid and uncompromising in Travancore than elsewhere. The tyranny of caste, with its compli cated system of theendal has nowhere else been so rigorous. Such a state of affairs was bound to lead to strong reaction. Fourthly, the temples in Travancore occupy a totally different position to that of Muzrai institutions in our State. The State temples there are maintained entirely out of public funds, a contribution not exceeding 40% of the Land Revenue being made annually to the Devaswam fund. The Muzrai institutions in Mysore were not originally established by Government, nor have they been or are being entirely maintained by Government. In the case of some institutions, no grant is made by Government at all; only the management has been undertaken on the basis of an understanding with the original founder of the institution. The position of Government is strictly that of a trustee, and any variation of the method of worship or the essential ~~principal~~ conditions of management would amount ø to a breach of the trust. Fifthly, many of our important temples either belong to or are closely identified with religious Mutts which have been established to propagate particular schools of thought. In view of these differences it ~~would~~ will be impossible for Mysore to follow

the action that has been taken in Travancore. It may be pointed out that it is more or less on the same considerations that the Government in British India has expressed itself as unwilling to interfere in the matter.

6. In the course of the discussion of this subject both before the Legislative Council and Representative Assembly, the Muzrai Commissioner has pointed out the foregoing considerations and has suggested that the persons interested in the movement might, in the first instance, carry on propaganda and arouse public opinion in favour of the reform, and that enlightened private gentlemen who had established temples might be persuaded to carry out the reform. In the course of the discussion before the Legislative Council, it was pointed out by one of the members that in a private institution in Bangalore, ~~admission~~ entry of Adikarnatakas into a temple was permitted. It is found on enquiry that no such permission has been openly given. There appears to be a willingness to wink at such entry. That is rather an argument against the supporters of the reform than an argument in their favour.

7. There are certain important points which arise for consideration in the discussion of this Resolution. The following notes are relevant.--

(1) The right of savaranas to keep the avaranas out of Savarana temples is, at present, a ~~reconcilable~~ civil right capable of adjudication in a Court of law.

(2) The admission of avaranas into

savarṇa temples violates the injunction of the smrithies and the explicit rules of the agamas. As stated in "33 Bombay, 509, "any extension or limitation of the scope of a trust so as to exclude those who are intended to be included, or to include those who are intended to be excluded, is really a breach, and a very serious breach, of trust".

(3) There are about 26,000 institutions in the State which are more or less under the control of the Muzrai Department. Out of these, only 3036 institutions are endowed with cash grants, for the maintenance of which a sum of Rs 1,43,300 is annually provided in the Budget. Out of 3036 institutions, only 256 get a cash grant of Rs 50 and over per annum. It will thus be seen that Government contribute very little towards the maintenance of these temples, which depend principally upon other sources of income. So far as the land endowments are concerned, they are generally small, and these grants have, after elaborate investigation and enquiry, been confirmed to these institutions by the Inam Commission. It would be impossible to interfere with these grants, unless there has been a failure of the conditions of the grant. The only way that Government can enforce a Reform such as is contemplated, is by withdrawing the Cash grant. That certainly will not ~~affect~~ seriously cripple the position of these institutions. Many of these institutions have large Puduvat endowments which may be withdrawn by the donors if the conditions of orthodox worship ~~was~~ are interfered with.

The temples will not then be able to carry on without substantial grants from State funds.

8. In view of the foregoing facts, the proper attitude towards the question is one of sympathy. Public opinion must be awakened and educated, not by means of legislation, but by propaganda. Legislation at a time when the public are not prepared for the change is bound to be a dead letter. In matters affecting religious matters, legislation which is ~~xxxxxx~~ obnoxious to the bulk of a community, is only likely to lead to trouble.

Muzrai Commissioner.

19th January 1937.

With reference to your D.O.letter No.37/1936-37 dated 15th January 1937 enclosing a note on the subject of temple entry, I am desired to say that the note is approved with slight alterations and enclose a copy of it as revised.

Yours sincerely,

K.V.Anantaraman, Esq.,B.A.,
Muzrai Commissioner in Mysore,
Bangalore.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

Mr. K. V. ANANTARAMAN, B.A.,
Revenue Commissioner.

NEW PUBLIC OFFICES,
Dated Bangalore, 25th Jan. *1937.*

D. No. H. e37/36-37.
Enc. one.

Dear Mr. Rajagopalachari,

Since discussing with you yesterday the resolution on temple entry proposed to be moved at this Session of the Legislative Council, I have once again gone through my note on the subject as revised by Government. The references to conditions in Travancore which have been made in the note are all based on statements found in the Travancore Temple Entry Enquiry Committee's report. They are not controversial nor can they lead to any controversy. I have prepared a fresh note making a few verbal alterations and also indicating the pages in the Travancore Temple Entry Enquiry Committee's report from which the references to conditions in Travancore are taken.

I shall be obliged if I am instructed whether I have to read the note as approved or whether I may reply to the debate in a general way, without of course going beyond the conclusions and definite opinions indicated in the note.

Yours sincerely,
K V Anantaraman

Rajamantrapravina
S. P. Rajagopalachari, Esq., B.A., B.L.,
First Member of Council,
Bangalore.

'dmission of Harijans or Adi Dravidas and other untouchable classes of the Hindu community to all Temples under the management of ~~Government~~ the Muzrai Department.

This subject has been coming up for discussion before the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council during the last 5 or 6 years in fact, ever since the Harijan movement was taken up by the Congress and a great propaganda in favour of the movement was organized in British India. Resolution to this effect was moved in the Legislative Council at its December session in 1932. The official members of the House did not vote on the motion. On behalf of Government, the then Second Member of Council stated that while Government sympathised with the objects embodied in the Resolution, they found it difficult to accept it for the following reasons.--

(1) The Muzrai institutions are large in number and varied in character including temples for which the Government make only nominal grant.

(2) There are ~~were~~ legal difficulties in the way of Government complying with the terms contained in the Resolution.

(3) In social and religious matters action by Government ~~would be~~ is possible only if it is ~~was~~ a large measure of co-operation from the general public, in giving effect to such

2. A Resolution to a like effect brought before the last session of the Depressed tive Assembly. The subject was discussed great length. It was found that there was large volume of opinion against the proposed reform. Eleven people spoke against the measure One member pointed out that it would be better if the reformers concentrated their efforts on other disabilities which were more easy of removal, such as, the removal of the existing ban on marriage processions of depressed classes passing along the public roads Another member referred to the acute differences that existed between different sections of the depressed classes. Yet another member referred to the fact that the supporters of the Reform were not really voicing the opinion of the public although they came to represent them. He challenged the supporters of the Resolution to stand for the ensuing election on the Temple Entry ticket. The resolution was, after long discussion, withdrawn, possibly in view of the strong opposition that developed against the Resolution.

3. The subject as at present one of All-India importance. So far as British India is concerned, the question has been adopted as one of the main planks on the platform of the Indian National Congress. The subject has gained an importance in view of the large population of the depressed classes and of the adjustment of the franchise on the basis of the voting strength of particular communities. The Travancore proclamation admitting all Hindus, irrespective of caste, into State owned temples [illegible]

impetus to the spread of the movement. It may be pointed out that the first State to issue such a proclamation was the ~~small State of~~ Baroda. ~~in the Bombay Presidency.~~ This was done ~~so far back as 1932~~ some six or seven years ago; ~~but owing to the small number of temples affected by the proclamation,~~ not mistaken but the change ~~effected~~ adjust did not attract much attention. In Travancore, there has long been a movement ~~on the part of~~ certain communities ~~which had been kept down,~~ to improve their position. The most important community among Avaranas in Travancore, viz., the Ezhava community, stands out from the others, on account of its educational and economic superiority. Ezhavas are ~~a little~~ more than Nairs in population. They are little, if at all, below the Savaranas in their standard of life. The movement for temple entry in Travancore was started by Ezhavas long before it was thought of in British India. So far as Mysore is concerned, the movement is of recent origin, and has developed more or less as a reflex of the movement in British India. It is interesting to ~~notice~~ note that the present agitation for temple entry which we find throughout India is not conducted by Avaranas so much as by their Savarana sympathisers. It ~~was~~ is not clear from the discussions that have taken place here, that there has been any demand on the part of the depressed classes in Mysore to enter temple belonging to other communities. In Mysore, each community has its own temples, often times with its own ~~peculiar~~ particular form of worship; and it is not usual for persons of one community or

(2) Vide page 47 of Temple Enquiry Committee Report.

(1) Page 47 of the Travancore Temple enquiry Committee Report.

3) Page 43 of Travancore Temple Enquiry Committee Report.

even among Brahmins

sect, to visit institutions belonging to other and not

community. The depressed classes have their own places of worship, ~~have~~ their own method of worship and their own pujaris as far as I know. There has not been any real demand from the depressed classes for permission to enter temples where other communities worship.

4. On the question of temple entry, there are two conflicting schools of thought. There is on the one hand, the intelligensia who are ~~all~~ out for democracy, equality and fraternity, and who want all communities to be allowed into temples. There is, on the other hand, the conservative ~~orthodox~~ school of thought which considers that if avaranas enter ~~into~~ the temples, there will be pollution and ~~that~~ (according to agamas) proper worship cannot be conducted. A compromise between these two schools of thought does not seem to be a feasible proposition. The former view is based on sentiment and the latter on ~~the~~ authority. ~~of the shastras and agamas.~~ The reformers will admit that the temples are places of worship established, consecrated and continued according to sastras. The sastras lay down that if worship is not carried on according to ~~shastras~~ them, the temples lose their sanctity. In the latter event, the idols are no more than ordinary stone or clay, ~~and they lose all their sanctity and virtue.~~ The exclusion of Avaranas from temples is a shastraic injunction. It is a difficulty that reformist sentiment cannot fully meet and answer. ~~As far as Mysore is concerned, not only is there no appreciable demand from the depressed classes to be admitted into temples, but even among the Savaranas, the opinion in favour of the reform~~

~~is not very strong. At the last meeting of the Representative Assembly, a considerable amount of opposition to the reform was noticed.~~

5. ~~The subject has come into~~ light ~~as a result of~~ the decision of the ~~Government of Travancore~~ to allow avarana~~s~~ ~~into their State temples.~~ In a matter of religious belief and practice, it is not always possible for one State or area to follow the course of action adopted by another State or area. Everything will depend upon the peculiar conditions of the area in which the reform is to be carried out. Without entering into a discussion of the action taken in Travancore I think it is permissible to refer to certain broad ~~difficult~~ differences between the conditions prevailing in Travancore and Mysore which make it obvious that what is possible and necessary in Travancore, may not be possible or necessary in Mysore. I have already said that ~~the movement for~~ temple entry in Travancore is a very old one and has been carried on by a community which, though ~~folding~~ coming under the Dewan, technically under avarana~~s~~, occupies a position in society not inferior to the savaranas in point of wealth, education, culture and devotion. ~~In this connection~~ Through propaganda ~~for a~~ on the part of the Community ~~a large number of years,~~ a considerable volume of savarana opinion has been organised in favour of the reform. It will have been noticed that many savaranas of position in all sections and grades of society have now freely expressed themselves in favour of the ~~reform~~ introduced by the Government. ~~There has also been a~~ A recent

4) Page 1 [illegible]

which has operated in favour of that measure, ~~and~~ ~~that~~ is, the ~~danger~~ apprehension of conversion into Islam or Christianity. It has been stated in the Report of the Temple Entry Enquiry Committee in Travancore, that 5 lakhs of avaranas have renounced Hinduism in the last 50 years. Thirdly, it is a well-known fact that orthodoxy is far more rigid and uncompromising in Travancore than elsewhere. The tyranny of caste, with its compli cated system of the endal has nowhere else been so rigorous. Such a state of affairs was bound to lead to strong reaction. Fourthly, the temples in Travancore occupy a totally different position ~~to~~ from that of Muzrai institutions in our State. The State temples there are maintained entirely out of public funds, a contribution not exceeding ~~40% of the Land Revenue being made annually to the Devaswam fund.~~ The Muzrai institutions in Mysore were not originally established by Government, nor have they been or are they being entirely maintained by Government. In the case of some institutions, no grant is made by Government at all; only the management has been undertaken on the basis of an understanding with the original founder of the institution. The position of Government is strictly that of a trustee, and any variation of the method of worship or the essential ~~principal~~ conditions of management would amount ø to a breach of ~~the~~ trust. Fifthly, many of our important temples either belong to or are closely identified with religious Mutts which have been established to propagate particular schools of thought. In view of these difference it ~~would~~ will be impossible for the Government of Mysore to follow

5) page 60 of the Report.

to interfere with the internal management of temples except with the changing the law. The law can be changed only if there is a substantial volume of public opinion in favour of the change.

~~the action that has been taken in~~ Travancore.

It may be pointed out that it is more or less on the same considerations that the Government in British India has expressed itself as unwilling to interfere in the matter.

6. In the course of the discussion of this subject both before the Legislative Council and Representative Assembly, the Muzrai Commissioner has pointed out the foregoing considerations and has suggested that the persons interested in the movement might, in the first instance, carry on propaganda and ~~adxxxx pxx~~ arouse public opinion in favour of the reform, and that enlightened private gentlemen who had established temples might be persuaded to carry out the reform In the course of the discussion before the Legislative Council, it was pointed out by one of the members that in a private institution in Bangalore, entry ~~admission~~ of Adikarnatakas into a temple was permitted. It is found on enquiry that ~~xxxxx~~ no such permission has been openly given. There appears to be a willingness to wink at such entry. That is rather an argument against the supporters of the reform than an argument in their favour.

7. There are certain important points which arise for consideration in the ~~xxxx~~ discussion of this Resolution. The following ~~points~~ are relevant.--

(1) The right of savaranas to keep the avaranas out of Savarana temples is, at present, a ~~reconcilable~~ civil right capable of adjudication in a Court of law.

(2) The admission of avaranas into

savarana temples violates the injunction of the smrithies and the explicit rules of the agamas. As stated in "33 Bombay, 509, "any extension or limitation of the scope of a trust so as to exclude those who are intended to be included, or to include those who are intended to be excluded, is really a breach, and a very serious breach of trust".

The principal condition of the trust can only be changed by the legislature.

(3) There are about 26,000 institutions in the State which are more or less under the control of the Muzrai Department. Out of these only 3036 institutions are endowed with cash grants, for the maintenance of which a sum of Rs 1,43,300 is annually provided in the Budget. Out of 3036 institutions, only 256 get a cash grant of Rs 50 and over per annum. It will thus be seen that Government contribute very little towards the maintenance of these temples, which depend principally upon other sources of income. So far as the land endowments are concerned, they are generally small, and these grants have, after elaborate investigation and enquiry, been confirmed to these institutions by the Inam Commission. It would be impossible to interfere with these grants, unless there has been a failure of the conditions of the grant. The only way that Government can enforce a reform such as is contemplated, is by withdrawing the grant. That certainly will not ~~affect~~ seriously cripple the position of these institutions. Many of these institutions have large Puduvat endowments which may be withdrawn by the donors if the conditions of orthodox worship ~~was~~ are interfered with.

The temples will not then be able to carry on without substantial grants from State funds.

8. In view of the foregoing facts, the proper attitude towards the question is one of sympathy without any violent change. Public opinion must be awakened and educated, not by means of legislation, but by propaganda. Legislation at a time when the public are not prepared for the change is bound to be a dead letter. In ~~matters affecting~~ religious matters, legislation which is ~~obnoxious~~ obnoxious to the bulk of a community, is only likely to lead to misunderstanding troubles.

Muzrai Commissioner.

RULING.

Mr. PRESIDENT.—With regard to the point of order raised by my hon. Colleague the First Member yesterday, my ruling is that the Convention which he referred to is a very healthy one, and I trust that the members of select committees will observe it as far as possible.

I say "as far as possible" because I feel that the members should not be completely debarred from expressing a different view in the Council in special circumstances or for special reasons.

RESOLUTIONS.

NO. 1.

* Mr. P. SUBBARAMA CHETTY.—Sir, I beg to move.

"That the Council recommends to the Government of His Highness the Maharaja that they be pleased to permit the Adikarnatakas, Adidravidas and other untouchable classes of the Hindu community to enter and worship at all the Hindu temples under the management of the Government Muzrai Department, subject to such rules and conditions as may be laid down and imposed by Government for preserving the proper atmosphere and maintaining the rituals and observations in the temples."

This is not the first time that this subject has come up before the Council. In the form of cut motion it had come up before the Council at its last session. Opinions for and against were expressed on that occasion. Since then, I think that a change has come over the country. I refer in particular to the Proclamation of the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore. As we are aware Travancore is one of the most bigotted orthodox Hindu States in Southern India if not in the whole of India. There religious, customs are more strictly observed than in any other Hindu State in India. So many people were afraid, after the issue of proclamation, that there would be shedding of blood. But I do not think that any drop of blood has been shed on this account. On the contrary, hundreds of meetings all over the State have been held expressing approval of the bold step taken by His Highness. A proposal has also been made to instal a statue of His Highness the Maharaja for the bold step he has taken. Unfortunately our Government, though it is leading other Indian States in all other matters, has not taken in this matter such a bold step as has been taken by the Maharaja of Travancore. I am sorry that an opportunity that offered itself to this Government has been lost and the honour of introducing the bold reform has gone to a neighbouring State. However, even now, I think, it is not too late. If we have not been able to take the first place, at least let us have the opportunity of taking the second place. In the last Council when the subject was discussed, the Government said in reply when I said that a change has come over in the mentality of the people, that the change had not come. But what I had said proved to be subsequently. The

proclamation is already given effect to. And when nothing untoward has happened, I do not know where the fear is if we adopt the same step in our State. We are more cosmopolitan than the Hindu population of the Travancore State. I therefore request the Government to change their view now and throw open temples, at least muzrai temples under their management and control, to the Harijan public and earn their gratitude. In order to show that there has been a change in the mentality of the orthodox people of the Hindu community, I would read a few sentences from the article contributed by Professor K. Sundararama Iyer of Kumbakonam. I think that people know that Mr. Sundararama Iyer is a great scholar in South India whose views on religious matters have been respected by the Hindu community. He belongs to a very orthodox section of the Hindu community and he writes very recently, on January 20th, 1937, to the effect that Harijans may be admitted into temples and thereby the sanctity of the image will not be affected. He also says :

"I am for beginning with an enabling legislation in fzzvour of tem'le entry for haiijans What I mean is that if any body of trustees or owners of temples resolve to throw open the temp.es under their management to the depressed classes now excluded therefrom, they must have entire discretion to do so and the laws of the land must be so amende as not to fetter their discretion. Even in British India to-day, individual cases of temple entry by representatives of all sections of the depressed classes are daily taking place within the kno of orthodox hindus and still nobody has ever taken any steps actively to prevent such instances of violation of orthodox rights. Why then shoule we not boldly come forward to extent such rights of temple worship now denied to the harijsna who still remain within the pale of Hinduism."

The very same thing I gave expression to when I spoke at the last session of the Council in regaid to this matter. I know that *dharmakartas* or the donors of certain temples are keeping quiet without raising any protest. I said so at the last session, but the Government Member then said that that was not a fact. And now, what I said on the last occasion has been corroborated by such respectful men as Professor Sundararama Iyer. In case, the Government admit that there has been a change in the mentality of the public, I do not see any reason why they should delay any longer the question of throwing open the temples to the Harijans. I do not like to repeat what has been said on the last occasion and I would only request the Government to be more sympathetic, take a bold step forward and earn the gratitude of thousands of Harijans who are inhabiting this country. With these words I move the resolution.

Mr. D. H. CHANDRASEKHARAIYA.— I have great pleasure to second the resolution moved by my hon. friend Mr. Subbarama Chetty. For the past several years under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi, great headway has been made in the direction of the reform. A time there was when the adikarnatakas and adidravidas and other untouchable depressed classes were not allowed even to go near high caste Hindus. But at the present day thete persons are being given all privileges just as other classes are being given. For instance, in a place like Davangere where there is a large population of Adikarnatakas, they are allowed to go along with other classes of people in processions and untouchability is not taken into consideration at all. In factories and other institutions they all work side by side with other classes of people without making any distinction. A hostel has been built for the Adikarnatakas and Adikarnataka students are moving with those of other communities without any fear or hesitation. Thus in several

of these ways the social and religious prospects of these communities are increasing. And in furtherance of those interests the question of temple entry will have to be solved by the Government. In view of the recent order passed by His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore, much of the objection which was agitating against the step taken has come down. So far as Mysore is concerned, Government have always been sympathetic towards the Adikarnatakas and have been taking a lot of measures to improve their economic condition and if what is suggested in the resolution is also adopted, I think it will bring them into the fold of the Hindu community in a more intimate manner and they will feel one with us. I think we will in a way be solving one of the greatest social evils which have been in existence in the Hindu society. I feel that all classes and communities of people are agreed to this question and I think that this is a very opportune moment for our Government to come forward and accept the resolution and do whatever that lies in their power to bring it into force at the earliest possible moment.

* MR. S. C. MALLIAH.—(Speaking in Kannada): Sir, in whole-heartedly supporting the resolution moved by my hon. friend Mr. P. Subbarama Chetty, I wish to bring to the notice of Government one or two matters. The question of temple entry by Harijans who are as much the subjects of the State as any other community has become a hardy annual. In one form or other it has been before the public and the Government for several years past and the importance of the question has also been recognised by all. In particular, our Government have been very sympathetic towards the Adidravidas and Adikarnatakas. It is no exaggeration to say that no other State or Administration has interested itself so much as Mysore in improving the condition of the depressed classes. That is a hard fact which must be acknowledged by one and all, and I believe it is mainly due to this keen interest of our Government in the welfare of the depressed classes that they have received the approbation of many rulers and administrators who have visited the State. Our State has had the proud privilege of taking a lead in introducing many a social legislation in the State. But it is a matter for regret that, in one particular respect, *i.e.*, temple entry, our State is behind the times. No doubt there will always be opposition from some quarter or other to every reform. In such cases, what the Government should do is to go by public opinion. If public opinion is against a particular measure, it should not be forced on the people. But if it is in favour of it, then the Government ought not to hesitate to take action. Similarly, in regard to the question under discussion, a vast majority of people are for allowing Harijans into temples. It is only a few people, a microscopic minority, who are against it

on the ground that it is against *mamool* and *sastras*. But their arguments do not carry conviction to the thinking public. And because of that small opposition, the Government need not be deterred from taking action which will satisfy the vast majority. On the other hand, they should do what is just for the Harijans. I cannot help repeating what my hon. friend Mr. Subbarama Chetty said a little while ago in connection with the proclamation of His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore. That State is one of the strongholds of orthodox Hindus in Southern India. Religious customs are more strictly observed there than in any part of India, so much so that members of the depressed classes were prohibited from making use of even the road in front of the Sri Padmanabhaswami Temple—letting alone the question of permitting them to enter the temple. And perhaps hon. Members of the House must be aware of the historic Satyagraha offered by several hundreds of people in front of the temple as a result of which many of the satyagrahis were put into jail. Such a conservative State has now taken a bold step forward and thrown open to Harijans not only the streets but also the temples. Such being the case, it is a matter for surprise that in our State in which the depressed classes have long been enjoying many privileges, they should be denied the privilege of temple entry. Every Harijan in our State has free access to any public street and what is now suggested is that our State should take one more step in its onward march by throwing open the muzrai managed temples to depressed classes. Government need not have any fear that there will be uproar by the caste-Hindus if this very desirable step is taken. There might be some bickering here and there for a little while, but ultimately I am sure that everybody will inevitably reconcile himself to the new situation, and then all glory will be to Mysore which will continue in all respects to be model for the whole of India.

* **Mr. D. V. GUNDAPPA.**—Sir, last time when this question came up before this House, I took it upon myself to submit what I considered to be the view of the orthodox and the unreformed section of the Hindu community in this matter. Briefly stated, that view is just this: The institution of temple worship is based upon certain ancient texts and customs which may comprehensively be described as *Agamas*. These very *Agamas* prescribe how the rituals should be conducted, what scriptural texts should be recited on the occasion of service in the temples, who should

approach the temples and worship the image and who should not. The sum and substance of the argument is that if the conditions prescribed by the *Agamas* are in any way violated or modified, the sanctity and the occult powers which the temple image derives from the *Agamas* would suffer and that therefore worship in the temples would become useless. This, very roughly stated, is the view of the orthodox community. I also took care on the last occasion to say that I personally did not share these views and I do not consider that it is necessary for us to discuss here the rights and wrongs of these views. I venture to submit that this entire question of religious mysteries and sanctities lies in religion which is beyond human senses and human rationality, and that it belongs to a religion which cannot be proved. Therefore Sir, I do not think that in this House we need go into this aspect, mystery aspect of temple worship. I think it is our duty to recognise, whether these views are held rightly or wrongly, that there is a great sincerity behind it. These views are held honestly and earnestly by a considerable section of the temple going public. This was the case as I stated on the last occasion.

Since then, the changes that had begun a long time before in this matter in public opinion have continued and gathered a momentum. The pressure of the public demand has been increasingly felt by all Governments and the action of Travancore has given a great historic impetus to this movement for higher religious privileges to the community of Harijans among the Panchamas. I am not going to discuss here the rights and wrongs of the Travancore Governments action, because even about that action there has been a difference of opinion in the Hindu community. The orthodox section of the unreformed section of the Hindu community has been protesting as we could see from the columns of the newspapers. While we may or may not accept Travancore as our model, we have to recognise that there is great generosity and great loftiness and great humanity behind the action of Travancore. They have been actuated and inspired by great solicitude for the welfare of a considerable action of the Hindu public and also by a great feeling of solicitude for the solidarity of the Hindu community itself. The action of Travancore is bound to have a consequential and very important impact upon public opinion throughout the country. As a matter of fact, this has happened and public opinion which was already demanding a reform in this matter has become more encouraged, stronger and insistent.

Therefore, I appeal to Government that in this matter they have got to take note of the spirit of the times and make what reasonable move they could towards meeting the wishes of the reformers. We cannot for all time hope to meet this problem by merely shelving it from time to time. We cannot burke; we cannot for ever keep it supressed and we gain nothing by deferring it from time to time. Some kind of action, sympathetic action, which will help us to reach a solution is. I venture to think, very urgently called for. In this matter, there is no room for either fanaticism or counter fanaticism. I have already submitted that those who are opposed to the reform are actuated by great sincerity. On the other side, those who desire reform are equally actuated by very great sincerity and nobility of mind. That being so, the duty of the Government and every body else is to find a way of reconciliation between these two opposite moves, and I think such a reconciliation is possible, and it may be made possible, if the Government will take a sympathetic view of the matter.

Last time, I have already stated that the position of Government in regard to temples in Mysore is that of a trustee. That is a position which the Government themselves have accepted and I unqualifiedly accept that position. But then, I ask this question. The existence of a trustee implies or presupposes the existence of two parties; firstly the founder and secondly the beneficiary from the trust. Now if the Government is the trustee in regard to the temples, who is the founder of the trust? If the founder is not alive to-day is there any representative of the trust, any one who can reasonably be regarded as the representative of the founder? And secondly the beneficiaries and their number is really a legion. The entire Hindu community is the beneficiary and the beneficiaries of the trust have been pressing it upon the attention of the Government that a certain reform, certain changes in the existing practices are necessary if the trustee has got to discharge his responsibilities properly, so that taking some action in this matter is a duty cast upon the Government by virtue of their admitted capacity as trustees. They have something to do.

And who are the founders of the trust? From time immemosial, the great pandits, the repositaries of religious learning, the people who interpret to us the *Agamas* and *Sastras* are to-day the representatives of the founders. Those who built the temples and endowed them with properties were people who lived by the *Agamas* and the *Sastras* so that it is reasonable for us to take that those who are to-day the custodians of the Agamas and the Sastras as the representatives of the ancient founders of those temples and other religious institutions. And then, there are great pandits, exponents of *Vedic* learning, and exponents of the Sastras

and the Agamas. These are to-day the representatives of the founders of the trusts. That being so, it seems to me that it is the duty of the Government to consult these representatives as to what it is that can possibly and reasonably be done in the existing circumstances. It seems to me that all that is asked for to-day is that the status of *savarnas* should be conferred on the *Avarnas*. And I think it should not be beyond the learning and imagination of humanity and the heads of our great religious institutions to devise some way for conferring such a status upon others who are regarded as *Avarnas*. In ancient texts, I understand there are passages prescribed as to the means by which the status of *Savarna* could be conferred on *Avarnas*. They have a ceremony for purification (Shuddhi Ceremony); ceremony for Upadesha (Initiation) and for Diksha (Religious discipline). There are these texts which are interpreted by the great pandits and *Swamis* of our Mutts. I think if they are approached in a proper manner and if the needs of the day are properly explained to them,—most of them live in the medieval world; I think I may say without any disrespect or discourtesy to them that they are living in a World of their own—and if their sympathy is enlisted, we will be very near the solution.

I may recall to your mind Sir, that a meeting took place some five or six years ago in the City of Mysore in the Mutt of His Holiness Sri Parakalaswami. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya happened to be there and you and the First Member of Council were both present. In very appealing terms, Pandit Malaviya suggested to the Swami and the pandits assembled there that it was incumbent upon the learned and the orthodox Hindu society to devise some means by which these *Avarnas* could be raised to the status of *Savarnas*. It is purely their province. And I venture

to say that if only they are approached in the proper manner and if the case is explained to them in its fullness, they will suggest some way by which some kind of a ceremony can be devised to give these *Avarnas* the status of *Savarnas*. When these Swamis and Mathadhipathies and pandits have given their advice about this, I think it will be perfectly legitimate for this legislature to take any action in the matter, and for His Highness the Maharaja to issue a proclamation in the terms of these recommendations. When some days ago one of the speakers in Madras in a meeting held in connection with celebrating the great action of Travancore said that according to Hindu customs and scriptures, it was up to the king to make any necessary changes in the religious and social laws of his subjects, some voices were raised questioning the right of a Hindu king to do so. I am not a learned man and I do not pretend to be conversant with all the texts. But I think I may make bold to say that there are passages in the *Smrithies* which authorise the king to introduce changes which he considers necessary in the social and ecclesiastical law of the times on the advice of competent ministers and learned men. I do not think that learned men, men of vision, men of great humanity and purity of character are totally absent to-day. In spite of this being the age of *Kali*, I think we still have among us some people of great intelligence, nobility and purity of mind. Also of great spiritual insight and shastraic knowledge. They can be trusted to give us the spirit of the ancient texts If therefore, a Board is constituted by the Government, enjoying the confidence of the Government and with all the prestige which the appointment of Government gives, and if that Board interviewed the great Mathadhipathis and not only ask for their opinion in a categorical way, but explained thesituation to them and tried to pursuade them, I think they will help us in solving the problem. I therefore suggest that the Government should appoint a committee according to their own discretion—a small committee headed by a man of experience and standing to visit the important centres of religious life and learning pertaining to the persuasions of the Hindu religion, to explain the situation to them and to obtain their suggestions as to how the status of *Savarnas* could be conferred on *Avarnas*. When this problem is once solved, it will have solved not only the question of temple entry, but also several allied questions that may prop up from time to time.

Sir, it may be said that the public interested in this question may themselves set up a committee. I submit that that committee will not be able to do any justice because in the first place the Mathadhipathis may refuse to look at this committee at all. Ecclesiastical bureaucracy is apt to be quite as hide bound as the Governmental bureaucracy. I am not intending to suggest any reflection. That is the way of official correspondence. When a questio is put the answer is given either in the affirmative or in the negative in monosyllables "yes" or "no". So that that kind of a procedure will not do. This should be a committee of reconciliation. It should go about; it may take a little time. It makes me hope that something will come out of it and it will be very satisfactory. I therefore in commending for the acceptance of the Government the substance of this resolution, submit that a committee with wide enough terms of reference and composed really of men of high standing in our society be appointed.

*Mr. K. CHENGALARAYA REDDY—Mr. President, Sir, I feel it ma bounden duty to accord my whole-hearted support to the resolution which has been placed before this House. The subject matter covered by this resolution is of All-India importance if not world importance at the present moment. It is needless for me to refer to the genesis of this movement, the way in which it has developed and the way in which it has culminated in the present moment by the historic and the monumental proclamation issued by His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore. We are concerned now only with the bare fact of the proclamation, the way in which it has worked, the repurcussions it has created and to consider in what way our State should follow up in this all important matter. I do not think, Sir, that this subject need advocates of my type, when it is borne in mind that this subject has the advocacy of the greatest, man of India, if not of the whole world Mahatma Gandhi. The way in which he has put the case before the world stands there for every one to consider and decide upon the merits and demerits of it. It would be superarrogatory and presumptuous on my part to advance any fresh reasons or fresh aspects of the matter. In one or two brief sentences, as has been pointed out by Mahatma Gandhi, this is a question of the life or death of Hinduism He has stated categorically on more than one occasion that if untouchability lives, Hinduism dies and if Hinduism has to live and function at all, this untouchability with all its implications must be removed root and branch from the social structure of the country And it is in pursuance of that statement in pursuance of the realisation of the implications of that statement, that the consciousness of the Hindu community in the whole of India has been roused and in pursuance of that consciousness that His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore has taken a step which will live for ever in the annals of the history of the world. And I would like to humbly submit on the floor of this House that it is our bounden duty and the duty of the State to follow up that exemplary action How I wish it were given to this State to take the lead in this matter ! It was only a few months back that we had the pleasure of learning the gracious act undertaken by His Highness the Maharaja himself that he departed from the age-long tradition of not allowing our Harijan brethren into the portals of the palace on the occasion of the Durbars. It was only during the last Dasara Durbars that His Highness was pleased to depart from the ancient tradition of giving access to the Harijans to the portals of the Palace. We all felt glad and we would have felt exceedingly more glad if it had been followed up immediately by a proclamation of the kind that His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore has issued. The lead that could have been easily ours is lost, is taken away from us and I for one as a Mysorean feel sorely about it.

Mr. PRESIDENT.—Why do you grudge another State taking the lead ? By all means, let them do so.

Mr. K. CHENGALARAYA REDDY.—I wish we had taken the lead. I am zealous and patriotic enough to think that we had had that privilege and that honour in the history of the world. But apart from that, I would like to refer briefly on this occasion to two or three aspects of this vital problem.

I do not think the argument will be seriously advanced by any section of the population that it is not the duty of the Government to interfere with established religious practices or traditions. I think that argument, even if it is advanced, will not hold water for a long time. It is our experience and history tells us that on many an occasion in the past, many a Government has taken steps which have seriously interfered and reformed religious and social practices of the people. It is unnecessary for me to the present moment to cite instances, but anyone who has even made a cursory study of History will bear out the fact that States, on more than one occasion, have thought it fit to interfere with even religious and social practices of the people. I do not therefore think that that argument will be advanced seriously, but if it is done, the example of Travancore, the action taken by Travancore as a State and the results that followed, amply justify the contention that it is the primary and paramount duty of any Government to interfere even with the religious customs and practices of the people, provided one is convinced that it is good for the social structure of the country.

And then it may be said that the position of the Government of Mysore is entirely different from that of the position of the Government of Travancore, so far as the former's relationship with the temples are concerned. It may be said that the Travancore Government has a large amount of control over the temples under their management in the sense that a major portion of the revenues of these temples is contributed by the Government and that here in Mysore the situation is not that, in the sense that the Government's contribution to the temples under their management is very very meagre indeed and that in the majority of cases, a larger portion of the contribution comes from sources other than Government and that in these circumstances it is not feasible, it is not practicable for the Government of Mysore to take the same course of action as the Government of Travancore have done. Well, Sir, the difference, I beg to submit, is only a question of degree. In essence, I do not think the position of the Government of Mysore so far as temples are concerned is in any way diametricaly different from the position of the Government of Travancore towards the temples in their State.

And then, it may be said that the situation is not ripe, is not suitable, for introducing such a reform like this at the present moment, and pointed attention may be drawn to some of the glaring features of the situation as it exists today in Mysore. It may be said that so far as the people are concerned, leave alone the intelligentia who talk big about this problem, but so far as the rank and file of the villagers are concerned, their attitude towards a question like this is a definitely decided one in the sense that they are opposed to any such reform like this. I am anticipating some arguments like this and trying to give explanations to them, and leave the rest to my hon. friend Mr. T. Ramachandra to reply to any subsequent arguments that may be put forward. It may be said that instead of talking big, we might calmly consider the situation in the country at the present moment, and the attitude of the common people towards the rights of Harijans so far as even fundamental rights are concerned, *e.g.*, the qusetion of the accessibility of wells, of the right of entry into roads, of taking water from tanks and ponds and similar things like that. And it may be said that so far as those aspects are concerned, the people of Mysore are against granting of any concessions to Harijans in all these directions. And instances will be put before us that even with regard to these lesser fundamental rights the *Savarna* section of the Hindu community are opposed to any such reform and that if this reform is thrust upon them as it were by the Fiat of the Government or a Proclamation, the consequences would be disastrous, that the net result will be setting up of emotion, if not of a revolutionary character, of at least considreable dimensions in the minds of the public at large, that the Savarnas, the Lingayets, the Vokkaligars and others will be dead against this reform and that the peace of the country will be disturbed to a certain extent.

Mr. PRESIDENT.—Are the Lingayets, as a community in favour of the reform ?

* **Mr. K. CHENGALARAYA REDDY.**—I am not competent to say anything on behalf of the Lingayets.

Mr. PRESIDENT.—What about the Vokkaligars ?

* **Mr. H. C. DASAPPA.**—Absolutely. I can give a guarantee.

Mr. PRESIDENT.—You seem to be pretty sure about it !

* **Mr. H. C. DASAPPA.**—On 10 or 12 occasions we had *jatras* in Chunchangiri when all Harijans were allowed to pass before the temple.

* **Mr. M. C. LINGE GOWDA.**—All the Harijans are allowed in the temple. No objection.

Mr. PRESIDENT.—Your Swami has no objection ?

* **Mr. M. C. LINGE GOWDA.**—No.

* **Mr. D. H. CHANDRASEKHARAIYA.**—His Holiness the Murugharajendra Swami of Chitaldrug has issued a proclamation to the effect that the Harijans might nter all temples.

Mr. PRESIDENT.—Forces are tending int hat direction of themselves, evidently.

Mr. K. CHENGALARAYA REDDY.—This is the situation and the apprehensions in the minds of the Government that if this reform is enforced by means

of a proclamation there would be a convulsion as it were in the Hindu Society, is, I venture to submit, a baseless one. I would like to substantiate my statement by one or two instances. Take the case of Travancore. If at all there is any State in the whole of India, or rather I would like to say that if there was any State in the whole of India where the deadliest type of untouchability was prevailing, untouchability tapering into deadly forms of unapproachability, unseeability, I think I would be right in saying that it was Travancore. If there was any place where the people of the State were definitely opposed to such a reform, and where this ghastly system of untouchability had its largest following, it was Travancore. It was in this State that the whole system has been changed by a stroke of the pen. What is the result? Has there been any convulsion? Any revolution? Any breaking of heads? None at all! From what we see in the papers there is nothing but jubilation over the proclamation, so that one wonders if it was at all possible in a State like Travancore. As Mahatma Gandhi has said, it has been a miracle. As he said, the gracious act of His Highness has not been his own act, but it was that of Sri Padmanabhaswami himself who used His Highness as his instrument by means of which he himself wrote the proclamation. That is the situation in Travancore today where untouchability was in its deadliest form. The proclamation has led to nothing but the happiest of results. And I have no reason to believe that if similar action is taken in Mysore, results other than those that have followed in Travancore will result here. Let me take our own State, and see what happened here when a few years back the Government passed an order to the effect that all the Government schools should be thrown open to the members of all communities, irrespective of their caste or creed including Adikarnatakas. Statements were not wanting that if such a Government Order was issued, the immediate result would be a sort of a revolution. And what has happend? Not a leaf fell. There was no revolution, but the Government Order was obeyed. It may be that in some places, there was a breach of the Government Order, but still, in a large sense, that Government Order did not bring forth any untoward results and I venture to say that all apprehensions will vanish if the fountain head of justice, or religion and of all powers in the State, i.e.,

His Highness the Maharaja, issues a gracious proclamation to the effect that the Hindu temples should be thrown open to all Hindus. And let it be remembered that the Adikarnatakas are Hindus. They have taken the names of Hindu gods—Rama, Narayana, Govinda. —Why should they be denied the privilege of entering and worshipping in temples where the images of Rama, Narayana, Govinda have been installed? I do not for a moment think that there will be any revolution; any disturbance of the people. True, some spade work has to be done. I now come to that point.

Government might say, "My friends, it is all right for you to make this demand; to request His Highness the Maharaja that he be pleased to issue the proclamation. But have you prepared the country? Have you done enough propaganda in this matter? Have you convinced the people about the justice of this reform? Are you quite sure that the people will be behind you? Have you not seen that heads are broken on smaller issues? What have you done?" What we have done or have not done is a matter of dispute. But I can say this much that all of us who are pleading for this reform will devote every energy to bring down recalcitrants and reactionaries if there are any, to appreciate the justness of such a reform, and to explain to them the absolute necessity for such a reform if only our intention is at save Hinduism from immediate decay and ultimate extinction. We, the representatives of the people are willing to do what we can to bring round people to appreciate a reform like this. I believe that the time is ripe for taking this step which has been long overdue. As I indicated, His Highness is the fountain head of all powers in the State, and if His Highness as a great Hindu and as the Ruler of a great Hindu State, in order to save Hinduism from decay and ultimate extinction, in order to reform Hinduism and expunge the excrescences that have gathered round it, be pleased to issue a proclamation of the kind to admit all the Harijans into Hindu temples a great step will have been taken, and the whole country will rejoice to an extent beyond the dreams of one's expectations. Fears there are; apprehensions there are, but I venture to submit that they are fundamentally baseless, and the action that may be taken will result in nothing but good. So, I feel that if similar action as in the Travancore State is taken here, similar results will follow and the glory of Hinduism and of our country will become more.

With these words, I beg to support this resolution.

Rajasabhabhushana Diwan Bahadur K. R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR.—Sir, I do not desire to make any lengthy speech. I am not capable of the eloquence of my friend Mr. Chengalaraya Reddy. I shall therefore say just a few words on the subject. As the mover of the resolution—mentioned, this is not the first time that this subject has come up before this House. When last time it was discussed, elaborate speeches were made both for and against the proposition and they are still quite fresh in the minds of the members of this house. There is very little one can say now to supplement the arguments that were adduced on both sides on that occasion. In fact, most of the statements made here by the previous speakers are practically repetitions of the statements made on the last occasion. The only additional argument now put forward is that in the sister State of Travancore which has all along been considered to be a stronghold of orthodoxy, a very momentous change has been introduced by the Fiat of the Ruler of the State. It has been said that this reform was brought about in the state as a great change had come over the people. We have no reliable information as to whether a change has come over the people of the State in this respect but one thing at any rate, is certain ; and that is that a change has come over the Ruler of the State, who issued the Proclamation. Whether it reflected the views of all the people of the State and especially of those who were originally opposed to this temple entry movement, and whether any change has come over them, we have no idea. It was said by some of the previous speakers that there has not been any revolution or revolt or any strong expression of opinion on the part of the people of Travancore against the proclamation. That may speak much for their loyalty and attachment to their Sovereign or for the conditions under which their opinions are not allowed to be published or communicated outside. I have had occasion to speak to some people belonging to Travancore and the impression that they created on my mind was that all was not as was made to appear on the surface, and that there was a lot of undercurrent of discontent, and dissatisfaction among the orthodox community but it was afraid to make itself felt.

Mr. PRESIDENT.—I think it is better not to sit in judgment over affairs of other States.

Mr. K. R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR.—I do not want to say much about it, as I know it is a delecate matter. Only recently an account was published in the Madras Mail of an interview given to its Correspondent by Mahatma Gandhi, and we are made to understand from it that, according to Mahatma Gandhi himself, there was some amount of opposition to the prolcamation in Travancore and that even the Senior Rani of Travancore would not give effect to the proclamation in respect of the temples under her control.

And what has been the attitude of the sister State of Cochin which is adjacent to Travancore and where, as Mahatma himself has stated in some of his speeches, the conditions are exactly similar the laws of inheritance, laws of worship, etc., being absolutely the same in both the States? One would have thought that in a matter like this the two States would have acted in consultation with each other. But what is the attidute of Cochin? As we all know, His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin has dissociated himself from this proclamation, and has issued orders that archaks of temples in his State who are also archaks in temples of the Travancore State to which Harijans have been admitted should be forbidden to perform pooja in temples in Cochin. The Maharaja of Cochin is not a young man. He is an elderly and venerable ruler whose views are entitled to great respect.

I know that there are a very large number of people with advanced views of social reform among all sections of the Hindu community, including Brahmins. The views of Mr. Sundararama Iyer were quoted by some previous speakers. I know him personally and have got very great respect for him as also for many others who hold advanced views in matters of social reform. But htere are equally weighty views on the other side; and these are not matters which could be decided merely by the weight of opinion of a few persons either on this side or that. As was expressed by the Dewan President in one of his addresses to the Mysore Representative Assembly, reforms of this kind must come from within and should not be forced from without, either by legislation or by executive orders. Recently Mr. Satyamurthy when he was asked for his opinion about the Travancore proclamation is stated to have said that though he was quite opposed to any religious reform by legislation, so far as reform by executive orders were concerned, he approved of and applauded the action of the Travancore Government. I do not myself see any difference between legislation and executive orders. Legislation has at least got one safeguard, namely that the members of the Legislative Council who represent the public will have an opportunity of expressing their opinion. But if an order were to be promulgated by the Fiat of the Sovereign, the people are voiceless and helpless. Mr. Chengalaraya Reddy very rightly said that we

must do propaganda work. I quite agree with that view. Some of the greatest social reformers were Brahmins. Dayananda Saraswathi, the founder of Arya Samaj was a Brahmin But they did not depend upon the Government or upon the legislature to spread their cult among the people. They spread it by the force of their arguments. By all means, let social reformers who are in support of the temple entry movement, convert people to their view and not ask the Government or the legislature to interfere in it.

A question was raised as to whether the Sovereign has got authority to order social and religious reforms. I shall not enter into that question. Assuming that the Sovereign had the authority, I say that he shoud not exercise it in an autocratic or arbitrary manner against the wishes of the people affected by it, even if they be in a minority. He has got to respect the sentiments of even the minority affected by any order that he may pass. Time was in the old days when a Chola king ordered everybody to subscribe to the superiority of God Siva and put out the eyes of persons who would not do so or when an English King claiming to be the religious head of his country wanted all his subjects be either Protestants or Catholics and ordered the persecution of people who did not subscribe to his view. Those days are all gone. Kings do not nowadays consider themselves as dictators of the religion of their subjects. Religious practices and observances are left to be practised by the people without any pressure or threat from the Government. So these are not matters in which the Government can by a fiat of their authority dictate what has got to be done.

When the question as regards the throwing open of temples was raised on previous occasions, it was pointed out that the muzrai temples under the control and management of the Government are not the private property of the Government and that the Government are in the position of trustees of these institutions. Mr. D. V. Gundappa has raised the point and observed that Government are the trustees for either the founders of the institutions or the beneficiaries. He said that the founders are no longer in existence, and that if the beneficiaries desire a change in the modes of worship it may be considered. Are the beneficiaries for the proposed change ? Who is to say whether they are or whether they are not ? Are we to take it from some of our friends here ? I certainly applaud the sincerity of their convictions and the entusiasm with which they are putting forward their case. But we cannot take it for granted that they express the views and sentiments of the large number of people who are affected by it.

* Mr. H. C. DASAPPA.—If they do not, who else can on the floor of this House ?

Mr. K. R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR.—A few social reformer members of this House cannot be considered as the proper persons to voice the opinion of the vast majority of the people in this respect. Mr. Chengalaraya Reddy has said "We have definite proof and definite evidence that the majority of the masses of the people are in favour of any such change". I challenge the correctness of his statement; but even then, I say that this is not a matter merely to be decided by a majority vote; and that this certainly is not a matter in which the Government should interfere. Mr. D. V. Gundappa's suggestion that the Government, in view of the spirit of the times, may take action to consult heads of religious institutions and pandits to see whether any practical way could be found out may perhaps be considered by the Government.

Let me say a few words more before concluding. As Mr. D. V. Gundappa said, the Sanatanists and the orthodox community—my friends may consider them bigotted—honestly believe that the idol is the embodiment of God and that this is brought aboue by the observance of certain forms and ceremonies which are prescribed in sacred texts. They also believe that the violation of the rules prescribed in these texts will take away the sanctity of the idols and convert them into mere blocks of wood or stone or whatever else they may be made of. By throwing open the temples to all people without any regard to these religious texts, the Sanatanists and the orthodox people consider that the sacredness of the temples and the sanctity of the idols will be lost. This may gladden the hearts of followers of other religious and of even Hindu sects like Aryasamaj who are opposed to idol worship and may be welcomed by them as the first step in the direction of the abolition of idolatry. But I think that it will be an extremely unwise step. For the sake of getting the plaudits of such persons the Government should not do voilence to the feelings of the large number of people in the State who believe in idol worship and in the texts which prescribed the methods and procedrre to be adopted not only for consecrating the idols but also for maintaining their sanctity.

One of the previous speakers said that our State has lost the opportunity of taking the lead in the matter and acquiring fame for itself, Whether we have lost an opportunity of acquiring fame or some thing else which I hesitate to mention (notoriety) is a question of opinion. At any rate, we need not grudge Travancore the distinction it has achieved in this respect.

With these words, I oppose the resolution.

Mr. RAMACHANDRA RAO SINDIA.—In further supporting the resolution, I do not wish to make any elaborate speech. I very much appreciate the suggestion put forward by my friend Mr. D. V. Gundappa that a conference of both orthodox and non-orthodox people be arranged. This is a question of social reform and does not concern a few members in this House. A few may oppose and others may support. Still this is a question which affects the people at large. So I very much appreciate the suggestion of Mr. D. V. Gundappa and I will be glad if a conference is arranged. Times are changing. I will just mention one instance. A Srivaishnava gentleman who was an Assistant Commissioner during my school days, if he shook hands with a European, he would immediately bathe. Now things have changed and Mr. K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar puts on tie and collar, he is now prepared to take tea with other people which perhaps he would not have done 50 years ago. Fifty years ago, people would have thrown stones at him. Times have changed. I think we have to change our social conditions. I very much wish that the conference suggested by Mr. Gundappa is held, and the question threshed out.

Rao Bahadur B. K. GARUDACHAR.—I would just like to say a few words on this resolution. One of the members said that we are behind Travancore, in respect of this reform, but I would say that Sri Ramanuja introduced this system into Mysore a thousand years ago. Baroda did it only a couple of years ago. Belonging to the Sri Vaishnava Sect, I take pride over the action of Sri Ramanuja in respect of this reform. I am just asking my friends who are interested in the temple entry question, what advantage has that community taken all these years. Except a few Harijans who live in the neighbourhood of the temple—those who are the disciples of the temple and treat the God at Melkote as (ಮನೆ ದೇವರು) others have not taken advantage of this privilege which was extended to them hundreds of years back. I am visiting Melkote every year for the past 27 years and I can say without fear of contradiction that none of the Harijans except those living in the surrounding villages come there. They have not taken advantage of the existing privilege.

Mr. S. C. MALLAIAH.—No. No. Many go to the temple.

Mr. B. K. GARUDACHAR.—No. It is not a fact. On account of the present agitation, and other things, people want to come. Let not the members think that I am against the reform. I have nothing to say against it at all. Some of my friends said that Hinduism will become extinct, if the reform was not given effect to.

*Mr. K. CHENGALARAYA REDDY.—It is not my personal view. That is the view expressed by no less a person than Mahatma Gandhi.

Mr. B. K. GARUDACHAR.—I am sure Hinduism will not die. It has withstood the onslaught of so many other religions during its career of thousands of years. It is so strong that it will never disappear. Members may rest assured about it. So to say that if temple entry is not allowed to Harijans, Hinduism is going to become extinct is not a statement that could be seriously made.

My hon'ble Friend Mr. Subbarama Chetty referred to the views expressed by Mr. Sundararama Iyer of Kumbhakonam. I have got the greatest regard for him. He is a great pandit. His Holiness the Jagadguru of Sringeri Mutt, when people of Travancore wrote to him, asking for his opinion as to how they should act, he replied that "as the Government have done it, we cannot interfere." Sastras say that if such a thing happens, the temple has no sanctity. But you cannot oppose the Government.?' Mr. Dasappa says that the Vokkaligars are absolutely in favour of the reform. I do not think it is so. I may tell the House that recently—about two years ago—we had an interpellation in this House about some Harijans taking water from a tank in Malavalli or Mandya. It roused tremendous agitation. The people almost created a riot. Mr. Chandrasekharaiya says that the Lingayets have no objection. But they are the people who fight when processions are taken through the public streets.

Mr. S. P. RAJAGOPALACHARI.—May I know if Harijan boys are admitted into general schools freely in the districts?

Mr. B. K. GARUDACHAR.—No. They are not freely admitted.

Many Voices. No. No. That is not correct information.

Mr. H. SIDDAIYA.—The Member has not seen the villages. They are admitted freely in other schools.

Mr. H. C. DASAPPA.—That is a leading question.

Mr. B. K. GARUDACHAR.—Mr. Siddaiya might have seen a few villages. I have seen many villages and I am a proprietor of many villages. I have not seen Harijan boys in the general schools in the villages.

Mr. K. CHENGALARAYA REDDY.—As one administering schools, I can say that in a majority of schools, Adikarnatakas are admitted.

Mr. B. K. GARUDACHAR.—The conditions put by the District Boards when any grant is asked for is that in such schools, Harijan boys should be admitted along with others. On account of that, many schools have not come up.

Mr. T. RAMACHANDRA.—If the schools are held in temples, they are not allowed.

Mr. B. K. GARUDACHAR.—Anyhow, it is admitted that there are restrictions. It has been said that Government are the trustees of the temples. Some thousands of years back, endowments were made and we cannot expect any men of that family to be living. Mr. Gundappa has answered the question "Who are the trustees?" They are persons well versed in Sastras and Agamas. We must consult them. He has also suggested the formation of a committee. That is a very good suggestion. We are now passing htrough days in which this agitation for temple-entry is getting stronger. We must therefore take our orthodox people into our confidence, explain them the difficulties of the State and induce them to join us. To put down orthodox by means of legislation is not right. Therefore as suggested by Mr. Gundappa a committee might be formed to take notes of all people and induce the orthodox section of the community to agree to the reform. I hope this will not be lost sight of.

Mr. T RAMACHANDRA.—Sir, even while framing this resolution, we were careful enough to add that the Government will permit the entry of Harijans into temples subject to such rules and conditions as may be laid down and imposed by Government for preserving the proper atmosphere and maintaining the rituals and observations in the temples. Because at least I for one felt that it was for Government as custodians and trustees and managers of the temples vested in them to see that the rituals and observations were observed regularly and in a proper manner when they permit the Harijans to enter the temples. We are not for wounding the feelings and suscep tibilities of the orthodox section of the Hindu community. Although this question has been discussed on previous occasions on the floor of this House, the special reason for bringing it up before the House now is this. All over India, people are moving forward. What is the lead that our gracious Sovereign should give in this matter? Having had an opportunity to travel in various parts, I have been constantly asked by the people "What step is Mysore going to take with regard to this question of temple entry?" Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas, the leader We the Hindu community of Bombay, when he wrote an article congratulating the Maharaja of Travancore, wrote one long paragraph in which he congratulated and thanked our Highness for his gracious action in permitting Harijans to attend the Durbar. He stated therein that a great and momentous step had been taken in the History of Mysore. He also added that very soon His Highness will be equally graciously pleased to

give the power of entry to Harijan subjects into the temples. In other places also and in leading articles of newspapers, there is a request that other Indian States, particularly Mysore, should take the lead in this matter. Hence, we have brought forward this resolution before this House. We know the arguments adduced. One thing is very clear. When three years ago this question was mooted, there was a great volume of opposition, as a result of the lead taken by Sankaracharya of Puri and various other religious leaders. We know also that when a bill was moved in the Legislative Assembly, there was great opposition and Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer who was in charge of the Bill, had to withdraw it. Later on conditions have very much changed. Not only have many great men throughout the length and breadth of India congratulated His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore, but they have also wished that in all Indian States and British India also suitable steps should be taken in the matter. Here, His Highness the Maharaja has got the power vested in him as Sovereign of the State to regulate the ideals of Hindu life and worship in Hindu temples. He may give us the lead by graciously throwing the temples open to the Harijans or let the Government declare that it is for the Government to initiate the reform. If so, let a bill suitably framed be brought forward before the Assembly and the Legislative Council and be discussed. In this connection, four years ago, the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has said "What is the good of our having Councils and Legislative bodies if they are to shrink in future from beneficial social legislation." Who then, is to initiate the reform? Now it is said "Let it come from within." Certainly. The representatives of the people who are in touch with the people and who are elected by them come as their representatives to these constitutional bodies, vote budgets, pass legislation as their representatives. And only for this piece of legislation, they are not considered as their representatives.

A question has also been asked, "Why don't you wait for some time more?" There are instances when Harijans by some mistake, as the unfortunate Mochi graduate teacher who went into a temple and got penalised, get into temples and get punished by the Government. The law is there and it stands against them. So what we are asking for is not for a new law, but to lift the law which is banning them. Only three months ago, I hda a pitiable letter from two poor clerks of the Forset

Department working in Chikmagalur. After bathing in the river they, took a cocoanut and broke it and offered their prayer at the gate of the temple on the foot-steps. The poor clerks have been punished by the Amildar. because it was said that the temple was polluted. They wrote a pitiable letter to me and I have got it still with me. I at once wrote to the party to go to the Amildar and plead with him. I told them to wait for some time ; that the Hinduism was changing.

Mr. PRESIDENT.—If you had merely sent that letter to the Revenue Commissioner he would have taken the necessary action. It was clearly wrong on the part of the Amildar to have punished them. But why did the party write to you ?

Mr. T. RAMACHANDRA.—Because they thought that you have recognised me as their spokesman. (Laughter)

Mr. PRESIDENT.—You might have sent that letter to the Revenue Commissioner. Will you do it now ? The action of the Amildar is clearly wrong.

Mr. T. RAMACHANDRA.—The Archak went and complained to the Amildar. The people have not yet been punished.

Mr. S. P. RAJAGOPALACHARI.—You first said that they were punished ?

Mr. T. RAMACHANDRA.—No yet punished.

My hon'ble friend Mr. Garudachar said very enthusiastically that Sri Ramnuaja himself has begun this reform. At the same time he asked "What is the need now for throwing open temples ? "

Mr. B. K. GARUDACHAR.—The member is mistaken. What I said was that people of that community have not taken advantage of the concession granted.

Mr. T. RAMACHANDRA.—I am thankful for the correction. I have gone to Belur and other temples and I have seen with my own eyes that a large number of these people are permitted entry into the temples there. Only the day before yesterday I had gone on *Jatra* to Ghati Subrahmanya. The Harijans are not permitted entry into the temple there. But when the God was taken out in procession, Lokasevanirata Kongadiappa went to the Archak and requested that the God in procession might be taken to Harijan pandal. The God was taken there and the Harijans were so grateful. There is no gainsaying the fact that Harijans are a set or spiritual and devoted people. We cannot say that they have not taken advantage of it. Because of their poverty we cannot expect them to come from far off places to visit the important temples. But it is a fact that thousands of Harijans in villages round about Melkote and Belur temples do come to these temples to offer pooja. If the same reform is extended in respect of all temples, the status of Harijans will certainly rise. I do not want to say anything more, but I will place before the House what Mr. Sundararama Iyer has said in respect of this matter. He says :

"It is absurd to hold that all the so-called depressed classes in India to day should be labelled as Chandalas."

The whole question hangs on this word "chandala" Who is to define it ? Who is to be defined as a *chandala* ? I am

not repeating what I said on the last occasion. And therefore, it may not be justifiable to say that these so-called depressed classes should be denied the benefits of higher social and religious life and should not associate with those who now enjoy higher social status. Therefore it is for the Government or for His Highness to take the initiative and declare that the Harijans are entitled to the higher social and religious life. I have seen many wodders and lambanis who are not as clean as Harijans, freely mixing with Brahmins and going into the temples. I regret to say that Hinduism is certainly a bundle of inconsistencies, and the greatest curse in that bundle is untouchability. As Mr. Garudachar said. Hinduism lives and will live long and for ever. It is for this reason that we must reform it and keep it alive. I plead for the sake of the Hinduism ; I plead for those young people who will not only think but ask for it. What is it that has been achieved in Travancore ? It has been the result of six years' agitation beginning with Vaikon Satyagraha. Later on, throwing open of roads, mantaps, tanks followed. Then a memorial signed by 50,000 people of Travancore, not Harijans, but caste Hindus, Nayars, Namburi Brahmins, all joined in petitioning His Highness that the reform was long overdue. We cannot say that His Highness issued the proclamation of his own accord. His Highness has got one vote out of 7 governing the trusteeship of the temple. He had to consult the other trustees—The Zamorin of Calicut as a trustee of the Sri Padmanabhaswami Temple has given his consent to it. He as a trustee of the Guruvayur Temple had refused admission to Harijans into the temple there in the past. He has not only given his consent to this reform in Travancore, but he is prepared to allow Harijans in Guruvayur temple if the law is changed. So whether the law should be initiated by the Government or by His Highness whether it is to be passed by the legislature, etc., is a question for the Government to decide.

Then the question arises "Are the people in our State ready ?" When the Travancore proclamation was published, we found that even district boards and municipalities in the State, unconcerned with District board administration, appreciating and congratulating His Highness. If only the Government would give us a lead to organise public opinion and give us a clear mandate, social workers who work for the cause of Harijan community shall not be wanting.

Again there is the suggestion of my hon'ble Friend Mr. D. V. Gundappa for the appointment of a committee. This Committee might examine the trust laws; may examine whether the temples are state-owned or state-managed; when the temples were founded and how and when they were handed over to Government for management; whether Agamas have been changed from time to time or not; whether the time is ripe for the change of the Agamas now; and if public opinion wants it, I may assure the Government that very soon the public of British India will have a Temple Entry Bill introduced in the Legislative Assembly. Already steps have been taken for the drafting of the Bill and the leader of the National Party is going to take the initiative to introduce this measure. Therefore, before that Bill is introduced in British India, let us at least prepare the ground in the Mysore State and be ready to show to British India, that the Mysore State which is ruled by a saintly Sovereign and is a great Hindu State, can give the lead in this great purificatory reform in Hinduism.

With these few words, I support the resolution.

MUZRAI COMMISSIONER (Mr. K. V. Anantaraman.) —Sir, this subject has been coming up for discussion before the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council during the last five or six years, in fact, ever since the Harijan question was taken up by the Congress and a great propaganda in favour of the movement was organized in British India. A resolution to this effect was moved in the Legislative Council at its December Session in 1932. The official members of the Council did not vote on the motion.

2. On behalf of Government, the then Second Member of Council stated that, while Government sympathised with the objects embodied in the resolution, they found it difficult to accept it for the following reasons :—

(1) The Muzrai Institutions are large in number and varied in character including temples for which the Government make only a nominal grant.

(2) There are legal difficulties in the way of Government complying with the request contained in the resolution.

(3) In social and religious matters, action by Government is possible only if there is a large measure of co-operation and sympathy from the general public.

3. A resolution to like effect was brought before the last session of the Representative Assembly. The subject was discussed at great length. It was found that there was a large volume of opinion against the proposed reform. Eleven people spoke against the measure. One

member pointed out that it would be better if the reformers concentrated their efforts on other disabilities which were more easy of removal, such as, the removal of the existing ban on marriage processions of depressed classes passing along public roads. Another member referred to the acute differences that existed between different sections of the depressed classes themselves. Yet another member referred to the fact that the supporters of the reform were not really voicing the opinion of the public although they came to represent them. He challenged the supporters of the resolution to stand for the ensuing elections on the Temple Entry ticket. The resolution was after long discussion withdrawn, possibliy in view of the strong opposition that developed against the resolution.

4. The subject is at present one of all-India importance. So far as British India is concerned, the question has been adopted as one of the main planks on the platform of the Indian National Congress. The subject has gained in importance in view of the large population of the depressed classes and of the adjustment of the franchise on the basis of the voting strength of particular communities. The Travancore Proclamation admitting all Hindus, irrespective of caste, into State-owned temples, has given a great impetus to the spread of the movement. It may be pointed out that the first State to issue such a proclamation was the State of Baroda. This was done some six or seven years ago but the change did not attract much attention. So far as Mysore is concerned, the movement is of recent origin and has developed more or less as a reflex of the movement in British India.

5. It is interesting to note that the present agitation for temple-entry which we find throughout India is not conducted by Avarnas so much as by their Savarna sympathisers. It is not clear from the discussions that have taken place here, that there has been any demand on the part of depressed classes in Mysore to enter temples belonging to other communities. In Mysore, each community has its own temples, oftentimes with its own particular form of worship, and it is not usual for persons of one community or sect, even among Brahmins, to visit institutions belonging to another community. The depressed classes have their own places of worship, their own methods of worship and their own *pujaris*. There has not been any real demand from depressed classes for permission to enter temples where other communities worship.

6. On the question of temple-entry, there are two conflicting schools of thought. There is, on the one hand, the *intelligentsia* who are out for democracy, equality and fraternity, and who want all communities to be allowed into temples. There is, on the other hnad, the conservative school of thought which considers that if *Avarnas* enter the temples, there will be pollution and that according to *agamas*, proper worship cannot be conducted. A compromise between these two schools of thought does not seem to be a feasible proposition. The former view is based on sentiment and the latter on authority. The reformer will admit that the temples are places of worship established, consecrated and continued according to *sastras*. The *sastras* lay down that if worship is not carried on according to them the temples lose their sanctity. In the latter event, the idols are no more than ordinary stone or clay. The exclusion of *Avaranas* from temples is a *sastric* injunction. It is a difficulty that reformists cannot fully meet and answer.

7. In a matter of religious belief and practice, it is not always possible for one State or area to follow the course of action adopted by another State or area. Much depends upon the peculiar conditions of the area in which the reform is attempted to be carried out. The Muzrai institutions in Mysore were not originally established by Government, nor have they been or are they being entirely maintained by Government. In the case of some institutions, no grant is made by Government at all; only the management has been undertaken on the basis of an understanding with the original founder of the institution. The position of Government is strictly that of a trustee, and any variation of the method of worship or the essential conditions of management would amount to a breach of trust. Many of the important temples in Mysore either belong to or are closely identified with religious Mutts which have been established to propagate particular schools of thought.

8. In the course of the discussion of this subject both before the Legislative Council and the Representative Assembly, the foregoing considerations have been fully explained on behalf of Government. It has also been suggested that persons interested in the movement might, in the first instance, carry on propaganda and arouse public opinion in favour of the change, and that

enlightened private gentlemen who had established temples might be persuaded to carry out the reform. In the course of the discussion at the last session of the Legislative Council, it was pointed out by one of the members that in a private temple in Bangalore, entry of Adikarnatakas was permitted. It was found on subsequent enquiry that no such permission has been openly given. There appeared to be a willingness to wink at such entry. That is rather an argument against the supporters of the reform than an argument in their favour.

9. There are about 26,000 institutions in the State which are more or less under the control of the Muzrai Department. Out of these, only 3,036 institutions are endowed with cash grants, for the maintenance of which a sum of Rs. 1,43,300 is annually provided in the Budget. Out of 3,036 institutions, only 256 get a cash grant of Rs. 50 and over per annum. It will thus be seen that Government contribute very little towards the maintenance of these temples, which depend principally upon other sources of income. So far as the land endowments are concerned they are generally small, and have, after an elaborate investigation and enquiry, been confirmed to these institutions by the Inam Commission. It would be impossible to interfere with them unless there has been a failure of the conditions of the grant. The only way that Government can enforce a reform such as is contemplated, is by withdrawing the cash grant. That certainly would not seriously cripple the position of these institutions. Many of these institutions have large Puduvat endowments which may be withdrawn by the donors if the conditions of orthodox worship are relaxed or interfered with. The temples will not then be able to carry on without substantial grants from State funds.

10. Since the question was last discussed at the Representative Assembly nothing has happened in the State to change our attitude towards the question. Reference has of course been made to the Travancore proclamation and the opinion expressed by some scholar somewhere in Madras. These are not reasons adequate enough to revise our opinion. I am very surprised indeed that the member who spoke in favour of the resolution did not refer to the large volume of opposition to the reform that was observed when the matter was debated upon at the last session of the Representative Assembly. Mr. Dasappa stated that Harijans are allowed to enter the temple and mutt at Chunchangiri, and that Vokkaligars are in favour of the reform. With reference to this, I need only say that the greatest difficulty in the path of such reforms is the attitude of the Vokkaliga community. The latter will not even allow Harijans to drink water out of tanks.

11 In view of the foregoing facts, the proper attitude to adopt towards this question seems to me to be one of sympathy but without any violent change. Public opinion must first be awakened and educated not by means of legislation, but by propaganda. Legislation at a time when the public are not prepared for the change is bound to be a dead letter. Further in religious matters, legislation which is obnoxious to the bulk of a community is only likely to lead to further misunderstanding and trouble.

At this stage, the Council rose for the day to meet again at 12 *of the clock the following day.*

Election of four members to the Public Accounts Committee were held the same evening.

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RESOLUTIONS (*contd.*)

No. 1. Re-admission of Harijans into Muzrai administred Temples (contd.)

*Mr. H. C. DASAPPA.—Sir, in the first place let me offer my sincerest thanks to my hon. Friends Messrs. D. V. Gundappa and B. K. Garudachar for their whole-hearted support to the resolution. I do not mean to say that my welcome is any the less to those other hon. Members who have accorded their support, for the simple reason that their views have been pronounced unequivocally on this matter. My hon. Friends Mr. D. V. Gundappa and Mr. Garudachar, who, when this subject was on the floor of the House last time, more than once were not absolutely sure of the immediate urgency of the problem, today, I am glad to learn, are prepared to consider the question sympathetically and have gone as far as to suggest the appointment of a committee for the prupose of inquiring into it. The only two other gentlemen who have not yet made up their minds are my distinguished Friends Mr. K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar and the Muzrai Commissioner or Mr. Anantaraman. I take it, it is not so much my Friend Mr. Anantaraman as the Muzrai Commissioner who made the speech yesterday. I am sure, at any rate it is quite possible, that his personal opinion may be different from that which he gave expression to yesterday. It would therefore be my honest endeavour to see if I cannot

persuade my Friends Mr Srinivasa Iyengar and others of his persuasion and see if they will not be able to accord their support to what I call a happy compromise that my Friend Mr D V Gundappa suggested yesterday In order to do that, in the first place, I would appeal to their heart and ask them to consider this problem with that broad liberal human sympathy which we expect of in the circumstances of a case like this It is more the emphasis that is necessary in the case in order to come to a correct understanding of the problem It is the perspective I insist upon, or rather that I appeal for, in this particular case How best can we take a correct perspective of this problem ? I think the one and the only way of taking a correct perspective of it is, to place ourselves in the position of Harijans and see how far we would be pleased or satisfied with the position that is accorded to them by the caste-Hindus I ask my Friends the Muzrai Commissioner and Mr K R Srinivasa Iyengar to kindly place themselves in the position of a Harijan and then say "Look here, I am quite satisfied with my lot as it is " I take it that there can be only one answer if he approached the subject from that standpoint and that is, that the need for raising their status is absolutely necessary and urgent also

The next point that I would deal with is this, viz, that so far as these problems are concerned, it is not a question of mere sentiment but it is also a question of long established custom or what in the Muzrai language I suppose goes by the phraseology, '*mamool*' My answer to that point is two fold In the first place, if a *mamool* is there and, if it is against public policy, if it stands as a permanent impediment to the progress of a community or fo a nation, that *mamool* must go However desirable it may be from the point of view of the authorities to take the line of least resistance, still if we consider that that *mamool* is objectionable from all standards of public morality, public and social standards of life, I think that that *mamool* has to go I do not think even there there is anybody in this House who would justify a *mamool* simply because it is *mamool* when it is opposed to public policy, to the fundamental principles of life, life where every citizen of the State can expect a fair and honourable treatment at the hands of the State and society The second answer to that question of *mamool* is this, that so far as Mysore is concerned we have not been always sticking to *mamool*

There have been many occasions when, having regard to progressive public opinion, to the high standards of morality and social and civic life, we have definitely and positively thrown *mamool* to the winds and adopted the proper standards of civic and political principles. May I just recall one such instance or two such? When 16 years ago the question of admission of Adikarnatakas into Government and aided educational institutions was considered, you remember very well, Sir, in fact every one in the House will remember, what a storm of opposition there was in various orthodox quarters, sometimes or often, and evenin fairly unorthodox quarters, at the time. But yet, when that famous Government Order was announced making it obligatory on the part of educational institutions, whether Government or aided, to admit Adikarnatakas into the institutions, I do not think the people in the State exhibited any kind of frenzy or temper which the Government could not easily control. True enough in just two or three places there were what are known as, I would call, national schools started. I cannot conceive anything more unnational than the action that they did. But yet they masqueraded under the grand name of 'national schools.' They just survived for some time. Some of them died and I suppose the others have now managed to reconcile themselves to the new position. I do not want to prolong instances. Even with regard to the other question of using public streets, I know for a matter of fact that our Government have adopted a very generous attitude. And in many cases in which I had something to do possibly both for and against —that happens to be my profession— the Government took a definite stand that they would not recognise the rights of any particular community against any other community from going in the streets in procession. That is the attitude, a perfectly generous and just attitude, which a progressive Government have to take and our Government have taken, so that the Government was, there also, never inclined to consider the question of *mamool*; that is because it was against public policy. I do not deny that in these cases that I referred to, the various communities—the Brahmins, the Lingayats, the Vokkaligars and so on—have opposed the people of different sects not only Adikarnatakas but also Panchalas, the Parivaras, from going into public streets. But Government have definitely said that they are not going to recognise such a thing like that. I do not think that Heavens have fallen. There was no great opposition and everything is going on very well.

The third point that I wish to deal with is the question whether we are absolutely sure that the generality of people are in favour of giving this right to the Harijans. Certainly, Sir, it is a question which I must answer and all those in favour of the resolution must answer We do contend that the generality of people are behind this resolution. My Friend Mr. K. R. Sreenivasa Iyengar was saying: "Here are some people coming from the Mysore City and the districts. What do these people know about the temper of the masses? Can they speak with any authority on behalf of the various communities, and so on?" Sir, my humble answer to this is that we do claim to represent them and, may I add, in a way much better than any others in this House could. We are here, both elected and nominated. I take it that those of us who are here by election and have got our fingers on the pulse of the people are not making here any wreckless, irresponsible, exagerated or fanciful statements. We do feel the responsibility, the great responsibility, that lies under neath the proposition that we are considering. I would therefore request my hon'ble Friends like Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar not to cast in any way any kind of reflection on our representative character. Far rather, let the thing be judged on its own merits. And going a step further I would even say—I would, if necessary, give instances—that popular feeling is veering round, and has veered round considerably, in favour of this question. My hon'ble Friend Mr. Chengalaraya Reddy was questioned by the President with reference to the Vokkaligar community. True there have been places where some of the Vokkaligars might have displayed antipathy not necessarily against Harijans by any means but against other communities, depending upon *mamool*. But, I tell you, Sir, that in various places where the Government themselves have ordered against such monopolistic tendencies on the part of Vokkaligars as against others, the Vokkaligars have thoroughly reconciled themselves to the new situation. Take for instance the Kommerahalli question where I do not deny that the majority of those who opposed Harijans from taking water were Vokkaligars. But yet, when the Government stood firm, the Vokkaligars reconciled themselves to the new position, and subsequently there was no trouble whatever. This shows that people are quite ready to reconcile themselves to any new position provided it is intrinsically just and righteous. In another big and major institution, *i.e.*, in the Chunchinigiri Mutt, where a jatra takes place and tens of thousands congregate every year, Harijans have absolutely free access to all parts of it. So also in the Siddaganga Mutt, if I am not

mistaken, because I was present there myself when a big Vokkaligar Conference took place and Harijans were admitted freely up to the precincts of the mutt There was no difficulty whatever. It was also questioned whether the public have expressed themselves in favour of it. Of course; from 1919 onwards the Vokkaligars in the State have held at least 20 Conferences and there is hardly any single Conference where this proposition, removal of untouchability, has not been passed enthusiastically and unmaniously. (Interruption).

Mr. H. C. DASAPPA.—I am prepared to answer that point. I quite see that the question of temple entry was not prominently there. But the sympathy with Harijans was there, and I am sure that my Lingayet brethren will equally stand by this resolution when it is going to be accepted by the Government.

I do not think I should deal with many other points, because there are a great many points which I would like to traverse. But the pity of it is that the great ideals to which our *acharyas* stood in the past are not followed by, let me say, their savants and devotees today. Mr. Bhashyam Aiyangar, in one of the finest speeches I have had the pleasure of listening to last time when this question came up, said: "I am proud to belong to the sect the founder of which preached equality to all the people, one who had made it a part of his programme to admit Harijans into the particular sect, a sect which had recognised, among others, Harijan saints and seers who deserved worship at the hands of *Alwars*." Now, where are all those high ideals? Why is it that my Friends should not stand by those high ideals and show a generous act of sympathy towards the Harijans? After all, as I said, it is more a question of the heart, the broad human sympathies and of reason, fairplay and justice. It is these things which we must allow to play when questions relating to movements like this come up, and any other attitude would defeat the very object which we have in view.

Then, I would like to say that the Muzrai Commissioner quoted some figures to show how many institutions there were, what amount of grants they were spending and all that kind of a thing. I do not know whether his object was to draw a kind of red herring across the resolution to point out the magnitude of the problem before us. Last time when we said that in Kashmere, Baroda and other States, the States themselves had thrown out temples to Harijans, it was pointed out to us that

worship in those temples was not according to *agama sastras*, but here lower down the Vindyas, they are the sole repositories of the ancient sastras and are trying to keep them absolutely unpolluted. I was thinking whether there was any force in that argument at all. I am sure the people up in the North are as good Hindus, I will not say better, as ourselves. We do not refuse to call them Hindus or treat them as Hindus simply because they permit Harijans to the temples there. That is not our attitude at all. But, all the force, such as there was, with regard to this matter, I think, has considerably got diluted, if not absolutely extinguished, by virtue of that magnificent and historical Proclamation by His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore, to whom we pay our respectful and reverential homage. I wonder what those Friends who advanced such argument as that have got to say now with reference to this latest pronouncement of Travancore. Do they say that in Travancore there are not people who understand *sastras*? Am I to take such argument from them? They have not ventured to put forward a plea like that, and they dare not. It is not their contention that in Travancore they have not taken the trouble of getting *sastraic* support for the admission of Harijans into the temples. Then, what is it that they say which permits of the throwing open of temples in Travancore but which at the same does not permit here? The question of any *sastraic* obstacle in the way of the reform therefore counts for nothing. I am just wondering what else remains except a kind of stubbornness on the one hand, unmeaning superstition may I call on the other hand, and shrivelled up heart on the other side? What is it that I may characterise the attitude of those who oppose this beneficent reform? I can get no answer on which I could congratulate those people who have stood against the reform. Not that I have got any less respect for their convictions but that I am afraid that their opinions are due to the fact that they have not taken the trouble of a little bit of introspection on their part, of seeing through the immediate present to a far distant future, to realise what havoc it has created in relegating a large section of the body politic into a life of loneliness and degradation. I appeal to those Friends to shake off the screen of superstition that exists between them and Trut, hbetween them and Justice between them and Humanity. An argument was put forward that the deity would get polluted by the mere approach of Harijans. Sir, if there is a God like that who would be polluted by the devotional offerings of his own children, is that God worth thinking about?

Could there be such a God? (*A voice*: "Oh!") I again ask, could there be such a God at all? Can we imagine that there is a God like that? (*Interruption.*) The argument put forward is so unmeaning and so opposed to all reason and logic that I think it is not worth an answer. I would therefore, even if it means some kind of dissatisfaction to those Friends of mine who want the reform urgently, even at the risk of incurring their dissatisfaction, support the suggestion of my Friend Mr. D. V. Gundappa that the Government may be pleased to immediately appoint a committee, a committee may I add not having weightage of orthodox elements by any means but a committee where there are a fair proportion of reformers, of the orthodox elements and of others who are neither. Put them all in let them go round the State not merely examining the Matadhipathis (*A voice*: "Examining?") but taking also their opinion. The greatest calamity that might befall a nation or a country is to leave all affairs of State in the hands of the priests or the Moulvis or the Moulanas. A lot of havoc has been played in the past by trusting the administration of a State to the hands of some priest-craft, whether of Hindu community or of another community. We have got to maintain a certain standard and therefore let us not simply consider the *Mathadhipathis'* word as the last ones on the subject. I am not in the least afraid of their opinions. I am prepared to argue before the *mathadhipathis* myself if they listen me. Let us take the view of all people, —*mathadhipatis*, non-mathadhipathis, laymen and scholars,—and see if we cannot gather sufficient volume of opinion in favour of this question. If and when the Government think that there is a volume of public opinion against it, then, of course, I would not have the slightest objection to postpone the consideration of the measure. Sure enough in this good world there are people of deverse opinions. My learned Friend Mr. K. R. Sreenivasa Iyengar was saying "you must give respect to the views of the minority." But times have come when the majorities have to be protected, when they have to be taken care of. Take for instance the question of public services. But that is a forbidden ground now; I cannot go into that question now. I will take another instance. My Fiends were referring to the magnanimous action of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore for admitting Harijans to his durbar. Mysore is usually the first in so many reforms. But when it comes to the question of progress, other people steal a march over us. That is what Mr. Chengalaraya Reddy said. We have to grudge other people stealing a march over us, because we have lagged behind.

That is the simple answer. Take for instance the question of the Representative Assembly. The Assembly was started much earlier than most others elsewhere. But yet we are in the background. We have stood where we were. Take again the question of Harijans. We were the first, I think, to pass the Government Order admitting Harijans to Government and aided educational institutions and yet—where do we stand now?—We have lagged behind other people and they have certainly marched ahead of us. The pity of it is—it is somewhat disappointing—that having started well, we do not keep up the pace equally well. All that I am appealing for today is that we must keep up progress. And I think that if the Government accept the suggestion of my Friend Mr. D. V. Gundappa, we will have taken a step in the right direction, I would beg of my friends Mr. Anantaraman and Mr. Sreenivasa Iyengar to at least support the modest proposition of Mr. D. V. Gundappa.

***Mr. K. T. BHASHYAM AIYANGAR.**—Sir, may I rise to support the suggestion of my Friend Mr. D. V. Gundappa? I do not think there is large differnce of opinion either so far as the appointment of a committee is concerned, because I find that even those who could not readily agree to the question of throwing open temples for Harijans are quite willing for the matter being considered by an independant committee. I find on the one side men asserting that the time has come when the generality of people in the State are willing to allow Harijans to enter temples. On the other side I find an assertaon made with equal vehemence that the people are not really so generous yet. When you have got one fact asserted by the one side and denied by the other, the proper natural thing would be to have the matter considered by a committee and, if necessary, by enquiring and taking evidence on the point. I think that would be satisfactory to all the parties concerned. And as I find the learned Muzrai Commissioner yesterday stating that if the people were quite willing to allow Harijans to enter temples, then there would not be any objection from the point of view of the Government, I think it is very necessary that a committee should find out whether the people are or not really ready to allow Harijans to enter the temples. The whole trouble now arises because you have got the power of legislation: you are enforcing today in the name of law a custom which originated long ago and which has been in existence or is supposed to be in existence in the country. That gives a right to any one in the street to put up a contention on the ground of *mamool* and preventing the entry of these people into temples although as a matter of fact several people in the same

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locality may be quite willing to allow them. In the earlier days, when the Hindu society was evolving its own law, what exactly was *dharma* proper that they should do under the circumstances was decided by the elders in the community. For instance, the *smrithikaras* who gave smrithis from time to time enunciated what exactly was the law for the people at the time and they could easily adjust these *mamools* and customs. Now, since you have got the power, you have got to adjust *mamool*. Otherwise you are allowing a law which originated thousands of years ago to be petrified and rendered unchangeable for all time. And we come and ask for change in the *mamool*; we, who are the persons who ordinarily laid the laws; what is the opinion which you find from the elders in the community? I do not think there will be serious contention on the point that very many elderly people, leaders of thought, leaders of action, have given their opinion in favour of the entry of Harijans into temples. I need hardly go beyond Mahatma Gandhi himself. Of course there may be people who may not recognise him as their *smrithikara*. But the generality of people recognise him as such if they do recognise him as such, I think that would be quite sufficient too. Because, after all is said and done, what is considered to be a proper thing to-day by a majority of people led by a great man like him must be, I think, acceptable by all. I do not find either that people are protesting for themselves. What they say is this: "Personally I have no objection for them to enter. But the country is not ready." Throwing the blame on the country is no good. Because, in the first place, the country is not really so ungenerous and in the second place it is not a proper argument to advance. If the Government were to say that they are not prepared to do anything which would displease the people, I can only say that it is not a very strong argument for them at any rate. It may be so for us. But so far as the Government is concerned, I do not think they can say that all that they can do is always very pleasing to the people. Often times they do things which are not at all to the pleasure of the people. So that, what we have got to consider is the good of the people of the country at large. In the name of being a trustee, you take shelter under this old custom and say "We shall not allow." Now, what are you a trustee of? You are not a trustee of the old traditions only. You are

a trustee of Hinduism which is part and parcel of the temple itself. When the donor built the temple and gave it over to the public, he did not mean that you should safeguard the temple only, but you should safeguard Hinduism too. And if Hinduism demands for its purification a change, you have to make the change accordingly. In the name of trustee, you cannot prevent progress in this matter. I would put it, you must prevent decay by not insisting upon these old traditions still subsisting when the people do not want them. It is quite true that, as *Diwan Bahadur* Sreenivasiengar said, reform must come from within. That is why we are asking you to make this reform. You and I are all within the fold. We are all one in the country. We are not asking an outsider to frame a law for us. We are asking that we in our own community, in our own State, should put our heads together and purify the society. You might remember that as far back as 1927 in addressing the Representative Assembly you spoke on this aspect and you very aptly referred to the rankling injustice under which Harijans are suffering. These, Sir, are your words :

> "These people ought to be strength of our strength; shall we let them become our weakness? They have a rankling sense of wrong which only kindness can heal. The aim should be to 'Hinduise' them more and more—for they belong to the Hindu community really—and to offer them every facility to remain within the fold....."

What more facility can you give them than to allow them to enter the temples and worship the god? I am free to confess at once that so far as this question is concerned, I should not have laid very much value on this, because there is an old saying: "Nearer the temple, the farther from God." If we, after all these years of entering into temples could still talk the plea that we alone are to be there and nobody else to come, then the temple has not functioned properly or we have not adjusted ourselves to the atmosphere of the temple. And if these people who have been kept out of the temple for ages and ages shall yearn after God which is denied to them, then it is as well open for us to say that keeping them out of the temple has not in a whit lessened their spirituality. We can say that. But the point of view which we look at this is this. This is merely a gesture on our part to purify ourselves and there I am answering the learned Muzrai Commissioner when he said that this agitation curiously enough comes from the *savarnas* and not from the *avarnas*. As a matter of fact, many Harijans have been asking for it and I learn that at the Harijan Conferences they have been pressing for this reform. But granting for a moment that Harijans have not asked for it in so unequivocal, so vehement and positive manner, and granting also for the memet that we, the *savarnas* alone, asked for it,—I still justify it in the name of Hinduism—I consider that keeping out Harijans is a sin which we are committing from which we want to clean ourselves.

We want that this impurity in us should be removed and the only way in which we can remove it today is by legislation. Rightly or wrongly even if all of us made up our minds that we should allow Harijans to enter temples, even if there is one man who says that he shall not allow them, he can drag all of us to a court of law and say: "The *mamool* is that he shall not enter. These people who are wont to call themselves as reformers may allow them to come into temples; But, no Sir, my Hinduism is at stake. The old *mamool* must prevail." And the courts must administer the law as it is because they are helpless against such a plea. Therefore it is that we come to you for legislation in this matter. In fact, that is the only way. I therfeore consider that this is a matter in which the Government should translate their sympathy into action by appointing a committee. I know very well that all these years when we have approached you on this question you have always expressed the greatest sympathy and we have always felt very great confidence in what you said. Today I am asking you not merely to express that sympathy but to translate it into action by appointing a committee which is desirable from all points of view and which is not opposed by anybody so far as I could see. I therefore very strongly appeal to you that a committee be appointed and further action taken on their report.

Mr. E. L. SILVA.—Sir, yesterday in explaining the attitude of benevolent neutrality adopted by the Government in regard to the question of temple entry, the hon'ble Muzrai Commissioner to Government put forward two suggestions. One was that the situation calls for more intensive propaganda and the other that private temples must first be thrown open to untouchables.

As regards the first, I venture to think that during our life time, there has hardly been a question over which there has been a greater measure of propaganda. In fact there has been so much of propaganda from one end of the country to the other that the subject has become rather nauseous. And any further propaganda is likely to be irritating rather than helpful. As regards the other suggestion that private temples should first be thrown open to Harijans, it strikes me that that is asking a little too much. The object with which a private temple is erected is to reserve it for the use of a particular family or group of people. If such templs are thrown open to the public, they will

probably not only lose their private character but they will very soon be regarded as public property. The real difficulty of the Muzrai Commissioner seems to me to be this." He said that all Muzrai temples are not equally under the control of Government and that even if the Government had the will, they had not the power to take a decisive step. That seems to me to be a perfectly valid ground and one, of which the framers of the resolution should take due note. At the same time, it seems to suggest that there is a middle course in this matter. I venture to ask the honb le Member whether, instead of adopting a *non possumus* attitude, he has explored the possibility of opening those temples over which Government have got an adequate amount of control, at least in those areas in which public feeling seems to be in favour of such a course. To one who can take a detached view of this question, that seems to be the first step to be taken. If at least a dozen temples can be thrown open in the first instance, that will be an indication that Government are in sympathy with the reformers. And once an earnest beginning is made, it will not be long before further progress becomes possible.

My hon'ble Friend Mr. D. V. Gundappa suggests the appointment of a committee. I should have thought that that is the proverbial method of shelving an inconvenient problem. But, since my hon'ble Friend Mr. Dasappa has no objection to it, it is not for me to suggest anything against such a proposal.

Mr. H. C. DASAPPA.—But Mysore committees, you know!

Mr. F. L. SILVA.—I can only trust that it will not be a committee of enquiry but a Round Table Conference at which representatives of the Government, the managers of the temples, *savarnas* and *avarnas*, will all meet together with a view to arrive at some understanding as to which temples could be thrown open to Harijans. After all, what they are fighting for is a principle, and if that principle is conceded, I certainly think that they will be satisfied, even if, unfortunately, there should be a few temples—I trust their number will be small—in the case of which it may be necessary to make an exception for special or local reasons. I commend this compromise to the mover of the resolution. Instead of asking that all muzrai temples be immediately thrown open to all Hindus, the resolution could be so amended as to suggest that those temples over which Government have adequate control may be opened immediately and that in respect of others a Round Table Conference be convened with a view to consider which of them could be so thrown open.

There is one word in the resolution which has crept in perhaps through oversight. In the last line the word used is "observations." I think it must be "observances."

Mr. T. G. RAMA IYER.—Sir, with your permission I shall present a few practical aspects of this question as they strike a District Officer entrusted with the responsibility of carrying out this resolution if it is passed. Before I deal with the question, I request permission to clear a small misapprehension about the subject. Many of the communities in the whole of Malabar that have pleaded for temple entry and that have been given the privilege have been enjoying that privilege in Mysore for centuries. The large majority of communities who are waiting for temple entry in the whole of Malabar and to whom the privilege is now given are the *Izhavas* who correspond to our *Idigas*, the *Asaris* who correspond to our *Badagis*, and the *Kollans* who correspond to our *Kammaras*, and others too numerous to mention. I hope the Muzrai Commissioner, who is as well aware of the Ethnology of Malabar as I am, will kindly bear me out that many communities who have been waiting for temple entry in Malabar for centuries have been enjoying that privilege in Mysore for centuries.

After clearing up this misapprehension, which perhaps has led many of my hon'ble Friends to feel that we are progressive enough in other respects but that in this particular respect we have been backward, I shall now proceed to refer to the practical side of the resolution that is before the House. It is my painful duty to differ from the impression conveyed by my hon'ble Friends in this House that the communities who are likely to be affected by this resolution are so heartily in favour of the reform. My experience as a District Officer has been otherwise. I too was under this impression for a very long time until I moved very closely with the influential majority communities in many of the important villages. I shall explain myself by referring to a couple of instances which are within my personal knowledge. A well-known worker in the cause of Harijans in this State took me to a village in order to intercede on behalf of the Harijans in respect of a marriage procession which had to pass through a Vokkaliga street. I accompanied him and did my very best to plead with the Vokkaligas but they were adamant. What I did next was to advise the Adikarnatakas not to incur the permanent displeasure and consequent repurcussions of an influential community, but to go by a by-path. But even that by-path had to pass

through a small street containing a few Vokkaliga houses. Since even that was not agreed to, we were on the point of giving a license and police protection. But all our efforts were frustrated by the Vokkaligars dragging the Harijans to a civil court and asking for a civil injunction, so that the Harijans regretted having asked for permission, because of the long-drawn civil litigation that followed. That is one instance of the extent of unwillingness to allow Harijans to use public streets on the part of a community which is said to be giving wholehearted support to this resolution.

I shall refer to another experience in another part of the district in which another influential community predominates. There the influential majority community insisted that the bridegroom who was a Harijan, should not sit on horse-back while going in procession and that he could only follow the horse. They were very adamant about it. They insisted that it would be against *mamool* and that the whole village community would be up in arms if only the bride groom dared mounting the horse. I have given two instances just to represent the feelings of the influential communities in respect of the use of public streets, which is after all a purely civic right. I will next take up the question of the use of public wells. It is well-known to everybody now that there are very few villages where all the communities could be made to agree to use a common well with the result that money has to be set apart for giving special wells to Adikarnatakas. If only the major communities show a change of heart towards the Harijans, much unnecessary expenditure could be saved for better purposes. If one knows the actual response in the hearts of many of the communities with reference to the Government Order throwing open schools for Harijans, one would also know the real state of feeling about it and how much difficulty there is for Harijan boys to actually go and get admission to schools. When this is the state of affairs with reference to ordinary civic amenities like public streets, tanks, wells and schools, I fear that the impression convyed to the House that these communities are very ready to support the question of temple entry is an incorrect one. It is my painful duty therefore to contradict the impression given by many hon'ble Friends in this House. If instead of giving an impression that these communities are so whole-heartedly behind the call for temple entry, friends had only mentioned *instances of half-a-dozen villages within* the sphere of their influence in which they feel that all the communities are prepared to use a common well and to worship in a common temple, it would have been preferable. I think it would be a great unkindness to invite Adikarnatakas to visit temples where it is not safe for them to enter.

*Mr. V. VENKATAPPA.—(Speaking in Kannada).—Sir, the Muzrai Commissioner who spoke on behalf of the Government and the Deputy Commissioner of the Mysore District (Mr. T. G Rama Iyer) have made statements which give us an indication of the possible attitude of the Government themselves. We are pained to find such an attitude on their part. Mr. Rama Iyer referred to certain matters pertaining to the question of marriage processions and drinking water wells. I am not prepared to say at once that they are all incorrect statements. At the same time I cannot say that because of the instances he quoted we should not throw open temples to Harijans. There are some difficulties in the villages so far as Harijans are concerned. I am not unaware of that fact. But have the Government tried to ascertain the root-causes of such difficulties? They have not; and that is the main reason why the grievances have not been remedied. I am not sure that Government know the actual state of affairs in the villages. If they do, they will find that Adikarnatakas are getting drinking water without any difficulty. In fact, in the upper part of one and the same tank a *Paraya* drinks water and below a Vokkaliga does it, and yet the Vokkaligas are not objecting to it. If some one comes and sets up the Vokkaligas, at once there is trouble. As to the question whether Vokkaligas are prepared to take Harijans into their midst on occasions, I may say that my hon'ble Friend Mr. S C Malliah has admitted Harijans into the Vokkaliga Hostel of which he is in charge. Mr. Malliah has not been ex-communicated on that account. That shows the attitude of the Vokkaligas. I shall give another instance. Since 1913 up till now my people are in the habit of feeding students coming from the mofussils for sitting for the Middle School Examination. On one occasion a Halepaika Brahmin sat with the others for food. All the others objected to it. We said: "This is all the place available. If you want you may eat, otherwise not." Now we do not find any trobble at all. Recently, in the place in which Non-Brahmins sat for food, a few Adikarnatakas also came and sat. One day there was trouble. We said on that occasion also that that was all the place available and that Harijans also were students just like others and that we could not say that we would not feed them. We said that they were free to take food if they chose and to go away, if not. Now there is no word of protest at all Mr. Rama Iyer referred to a procession in which the Harijan bridegroom was not allowed to sit on horseback, and said that there was trouble from Vokkaligas. It is necessary to remember in this connection that on all such occasions trouble ensues only if there are people to set up the others.

All trouble vanishes if only there are influential men who are prepared to see through things according to reason and commonsense. I have done such a thing myself. In fact, whenever I have foreseen trouble on such occasions, I have furnished information to the local Officers for dealing with the persons concerned. Round about Channapatna, in many villages, I have myself supervised processions in which Harijan bridegrooms have sat on horse-back. Again, Goldsmiths could not do likewise; in fact they could not even celebrate marriage anywhere within the town. They ought to go outside and do their marriages. Now they can do it within the town. People are now saying: "If these marriages take place within the town, we will be invited and we get at least *thamboolam*, if not a dinner. Why forego it?"

Referring to the Travancore Proclamation, *Diwan Bahadur* K. R. Srinivasa Iyengar said that the Proclamation is very unpopular throughout the Travancore State and that people there are very much dissatisfied with it. He also added that if people there have said nothing against the Proclamation, it is because of their loyalty to their Ruler or some other cause. Let me grant it for the time being. But may I not ask whether in British India similarly people are afraid of the Travancore Ruler and whether they also owe loyalty to the Maharaja of Travancore? We are hearing that many meetings are held and the Travancore Maharaja thanked for having issued the Proclamation. Have we ever heard of an equal number of conferences in which that Proclamation has been criticised? It is all very easy to say that public opinion is not yet in favour of this reform. But how do you judge public opinion? One in a hundred may be opposed to this Proclamation. I dare say that all the other 99 do support it. Do you say, then, that public opinion is opposed to it? The Muzrai Commissioner said yesterday that in the Representative Assembly a resolution on this question had to be withdrawn for want of adquate support. I am sorry that statement does not represent the true state of affairs. When I spoke in the Assembly, the House had not risen for lunch. I said: "It is not necessary to make speeches. All hon'ble Members of this House seem to be agreed on this question. Once before this, when the same question had come up in some other form, the House has expressed itself in favour of it. Even now, I think, the House is not opposed to this question." The House adjourned for lunch.

Curiously enough, when the Assembly met again after lunch, things seemed to have changed altogether. Evidently there was some mysterious force at work in the meanwhile. The members of the House were not responsible for the change.

Apart from all these, I do not understand why the Government should be so particular about public opinion before action is taken as suggested. Are the Government sure of public support in all that they do? Why not they say: "This reform is necessary and we will introduce it. If there is trouble we shall overcome it and help the Harijans"?

My hon'ble Friend Mr. Dasappa referred to a case in which there was trouble from a few Vokkaligas to Harijans taking water from a well. Did not that trouble disappear once the Government took a firm stand? It was suggested that, despite orders of Government, Harijan boys are not freely admitted into public schools. I should think, for that the Government Officers are themselves responsible. Local officers must enforce the orders of Government. The trouble is that they do not do it. There are some teachers also who employ threats and intimidation towards the caste people who are easily set up when such things happen. I should think that wherever officers are able to give effect to the orders, things are taking place quite smoothly. It is only in other cases that there is trouble. Similarly on this question also, Heavens are not going to fall if Government accept the resolution and do their best to bring it into effect. At a time like this when everywhere in the country opinion is expressing in favour of this reform, Government ought not to hesitate. It is no argument to say that Harijans themselves are not anxious to get this privilege and therefore others need not bother on their behalf. We know that Harijans are not responsible for their present position and that it is for us to lift whatever ban there may be on them. Secondly, we, caste Hindus, have committed a sin towards the Harijans. Mahatma Gandhi has said it and he has also said that it is our duty to purge Hinduism of this sin. I may perhaps quote in this connection a story. Swami Vivekananda it is said, was going in a forest. When he felt thirsty, he did not find water anywhere but with a *Chandala*. The Swami asked him for water. He said "I am a *Chandala*. You cannot drink water which I give." The Swami went away, but again came back and said: "There is no real difference between us. You give me the water." He took it and drank it. So even if Harijans do not ask for this reform we must ourselves recognise their claim and see that they are brought into line with others. We are suffering for

our past sins and we must do our best to atone for the sins. If the Harijans are able to come forward and press their claims, what is there for *us* to give? It is their right, and they will simply snatch it from us. Will it be graceful on our part to wait for such a day and then give them their rights? The Hindu community is known for its ~~goodness, generosity and liberal outlook.~~ It is for us to deserve all those attributes, being members of that community. In Mysore State particularly, Harijans have received special attention and help in a measure unknown to Harijans elsewhere. Such a State ought not to waver or stint any longer in regard to the question of temple entry. As far as possible we must expedite action. I had very high hopes that Government would show a liberal attitude with regard to this resolution. I am sorry it has not been so. If they do not agree at least to the appointment of a committee as suggested by some of the speakers, then, we shall have nothing very pleasant to say about our Government. If this reform is delayed any longer in our State, it is the Government and not the people that will be held responsible for it.

The FIRST MEMBER OF COUNCIL (Rajamantrapravina S. P. Rajagopachari).—A suggestion has been made, as part of a solution of this problem, that instead of throwing open the existing temples to all classes it would be better if new temples are constructed which would be open to all. How does that suggestion appeal itself to the House?

Mr. N. VENKATAPPA.—We shall never agree to such a thing.

***Mr. K. T. BHASHYAM AIYANGAR.**—For Heaven's sake, let us have no more new temples.

Mr. S. P. RAJAGOPALACHARI.—Please do not be cock sure about any matters. These are matters which have got to be seriously considered from all aspects. I would like to have the considered opinion of hon'ble Members here with regard to that suggestion.

Mr. D. S. MALLAPPA.—The remedy suggested will be worse than the disease.

***Mr. K. T. BHASHYAMAYYANGAR.**—The existing temples are giving us sufficient trouble. Why do you want more?

Mr. S. P. RAJAGOPALACHARI.—That is a superficial view of the matter. I should like to have a fully considered view from Mr. Venkatappa.

Mr. V. VENKATAPPA.—On that question we have ascertained the feeling in the villages already. We do not believe that any great benefit will accrue from such a thing. We may after all be only adding to the trouble and creating another party or caste, including a few *Avarnas* and a few *Savarnas*, and that will not be solving the problem.

Sir, it is regrettable that Harijans are kept so low in the social scale. We have represented their cause often times. We should not say that temples will be polluted if Harijans enter them. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, than whom there is no more learned or orthodox Hindu, has repeatedly said that pollution is not supported by reason. He has also said that *Agamas* are changed from time to time—it is *Vedas* alone that are never modified—so that there will not be much force in our saying that, simply because *Agamas* do not permit of it, we should not allow Harijans into temples.

It was suggested that we must do propaganda enough in the country in favour of this reform. I could say that on no other question has so much propaganda been done in our State as on the question of temple entry. Everywhere people have been supporting the reform in one voice. Of course, here and there a few dissenting voices may be heard but they are not general. I request Government to accept this resolution and take all steps necessary to give effect to it as soon as possible

Rajacharita Visarada Rao Sahib C. HAYAVADANA RAO.—Sir, may I say a few words on this question? The subject under discussion, it must be admitted, goes deep into the religious and social history of this land. It would not do for us to forget that it has a religious aspect as much as a social aspect. An hon'ble Gentleman speaking yesterday suggested that it is a sujbect of social justice. I think he forgot entirely the religious aspect. Men are moved, in fact swayed, by religious impulses more than by anything else. They would not willingly lose, as somebody said, the Kingdom of the future. It is not right that we should think that in the last resort, as the hon'ble Member who preceded me just a minute ago suggested, the Government has only to say 'Yes' and everybody will obey. In how many instances has such a fiat been issued? That question has also to be answered. The implications of a direction of such a nature are many. It will not do in a matter which is both religious and social in its character to deny that people should have a say in regard to its decision. The whole question centres round this: "What is the opinion of the people—of the generality of the masses? How will they react to a measure like this, even if it is by a fiat of the Government carried through?" That is the question, as I apprehend it. We are all converts to the view which is heard everywhere now. I do not think a single Member here is against it, even including the hon'ble *Diwan Bahadur* K. R. Srinivasiengar, whose views

have been misrepresented here to a very large extent. I do not think he ever meant to say that he is himself an opponent of this measure Certainly not He is much above that, much beyond that If I understand him aright, he meant to say that we should be cautious when we approach questions of a religious charatcer—questions which affect religious beliefs or, practices, for the masses may not be moved by the same impulses as educated reformers are What is the opinion of the masses to whom my hon'ble Friend Mr Ramachandra Rao Sindia referred to yesterday? What will be their reaction? If a fiat be issued to day that all temples be opened to the Harijans tomorrow, subject to certain rules and regulations as propounded in the resolution, what will be the reaction of the masses to it? That is *the* question When the hon'ble the First Memer of Council suggested a moment ago "Why not try new temples?" immediately the answer came "Nobody wants it" One hon'ble Friend suggested he did not want any more temples He prides himself evidently on being an ultra-reformer He may claim to be an upholder of the factious remark of Aristotle that only Gods and barbarians live beyond cities and that citizens have nothing to do with them My hon'ble Friend missed the point in the suggestion of the hon'ble the First Member of Council And if I may elucidate it, may I say it means no more than this: if you think your idea of opening all temples will be so warmly welcomed by the masses, then why not try and see whether common worship by Harijans and the rest of the Hindu masses is possible in a new temple dedicated for common use The suggestion is not so meaningless as my hon'ble Friend would have it Why not try your new fangled notion in a manner and in conditions that might help forward its realization? Why should my hon'ble Friend deny himself such a chance? Why is he afraid of it? The fact of the matter is that such an attempt might fail of its purpose The truth is that the Hindu is not a congregationalist but an individualist in his worship He is tolerant because he is individualistic in his religious belief He worships as he pleases and allows others to worship as they please Temples and shrines are accordingly as many as there are individuals holding beliefs differing from each other

Temples will not be temples, if they are opened to everybody The essence of temple worship is that it is exclusive and separatist in its tendencies Another hon'ble Member this morning suggested that even God must have a chnace of recreating the world That is a privilege even he would disown What is more, He has disarmed himself

so conditionally worded that a thorough investigation into every one of these aspects of the question is absolutely necessary. Government cannot go upon the basis that everything is all right and that they can simply issue a fiat or proclamation for everybody to obey. One restraint on legislative action—public opinion—would not have been allowed, in such a case, freeplay.

I think the idea of a committee is a useful one, useful from the point of view of the generosity of the people. That is a suggestion which I like very much to be considered. But then, I may say, the time is fast approaching in the country when questions of a semi-religious and semi-social character will have to be brought up frequently for consideration in this House. Enlightened people who form the majority of members of this House must consider what is the best way of getting the largest consensus of opinion in matters of this nature before they are brought before the Legislature. That is a very important question. Such questions have cropped up in England and they have taken certain measures in regard to them. What are the steps that we should first take to facilitate their dispassionate discussion? They have after some deliberation set down a *modus operandi* which might be considered by us on the merits. In England especially they have taken stock of difficult questions of this nature which frequently come up before the Houses of Parliament for discussion. Parliament is not the best place, any more than this Legislative Council can be the best place, for discussing questions of a semi-religious, semi-social nature, and it is best they are debated upon elsewhere. What they have done there is to have special assemblies to consider questions of this nature—the Church of England devised a scheme for convoking such assemblies only 15 years ago, by virtue of what is called the Church of England Assembly Act under which all the people who adhere to it are 'brought together and asked to debate questions of this nature and pass resolutions which are thereafter brought up before the Houses of Parliament. If both the Houses pass it, Royal Assent is automatically obtained. We here are fast approaching a state at which questions of a like semi-religious nature—affecting religion or society or both—might be relegated to assemblies other than the Legislature which can legitimately discuss them. These are questions in which the much-abused Moulvis and the much abused Matadhipathis should have a voice, as also the laity who form the congregation. They must all debate and come to unanimous or majority resolutions and then bring them up before the Legislature; and if they are passed, then the Royal Assent might be easily

given. We are coming to a stage at which some such solution of social and religious difficulties must be attempted. It is true that we have not got such a mechanism here as they have in England and elsewhere. It is but right that we should hit upon a course of action by which such questions can be disposed of easily here. It is not a mere resolution passed by a few stray individuals that counts in questions of this nature. It is obvious that a committee of this House cannot do justice to a question like this. And we have not got an independent assembly of the kind that I have suggested. So it is that a committee of a larger number of people who will be persons not belonging to this House only—a composite committee with a majority of representatives of the communities to which this question belongs—should be appointed, evidence taken and conclusions arrived at. If large questions deserve right solutions, it would not do for us to relegate them to the limbo of oblivion and rest in the comforting belief that all will be well so long as we can save the situation for the time being. The policy of *festina lente* may pay but only under the strict est limitations. Pressing public questions are never lost sight of; they will be brought up again and again. We cannot also forget that they await solution of the right type Of course, any solution suggested must carry the weight of the authority of the State; it should also carry the weight of the authority of the Legislature; and, more than both of these, the weight of the authority of public opinion. How to elicit public opinion on this particular question—that is the question that is now before us. For doing that, the best thing is to appoint a committee which will go into this matter and consider it from every point of view—both the Government point of view and the point of view of the general public.

Sir, I will not take more time. I thank all my hon. Friends for listening to me so long.

Mr. PRESIDENT.—You mean for interrupting you so often!

Mr. C. HAYAVADANA RAO.—For that also. Interruptions well meant and well directed, add to the freshness and usefulness of a debate.

***Mr. H. SIDDAIYA.**—Sir, as a measure of compromise regarding this resolution, various suggestions have been made on the floor of this House yesterday and to-day. One suggestion has come from the First Member of Council himself. That suggestion is that when new temples come into existence, they will be thrown open to Adikarnatakas and others.

An eminent educationist suggested just the other day that there is no need for more temples in the country. That is one thing. Secondly, even the existing temples in several parts of the country are in ruins. So many beautiful and huge temples require immediate repairs but there is no money. Thirdly, so much money which would have to be spent for the construction of the new temples may be more usefully spent in construcing village schools which will provide education for the future citizens of the State. Another suggestion has been the appointment of a committee to go into the details of this question of Temple Entry and to ascertain public opinion. I feel, and I hope I am correct in saying, that we need not go so far because so much time and money need not be wasted on the deliberations of such a committee for the simple reason that so much propaganda has been going on throughout the country for the last one decade and more.

While on this question I may perhaps invite the attention of this hon. House to Mr. T. Ramachandra's question No. 118 which has been answered by the Government. The question is whether it has come to the notice of Government that appeals are made in the public platform and the press both in and outside the State requesting that Government be pleased to throw open the Hindu temples under their management to the worship of the Harijans. And the answer given by the First Member of Council on behalf of the Government is "Yes." So many representations are made and it is within the knowledge of the Government that the country is prepared to welcome such a measure as this. Hon. Members who have opposed it here both yesterday and to-day have confined themselves mostly to the authority of *Sastras*. But Sastras were written in some Dark Age when there was so much illiteracy among the people who were not at all consulted by the persons who wrote the *Sastras* as well as the *Puranas*. It is also said that the so-called Pandits who wrote these *Sastras* and *Puranas* wrote them just to suit their own convenience. Giving so much of value to such *Sastras* and *Puranas* will not be necessary or safe. New ideas are developing now. There was a time—even a decade ago, before schools were thrown open to Harijans—when the mere touch of an Adikarnataka was expected to pollute caste Hindus. Those notions are wiped off now. Public opinion is in favour of this resolution. There is no necessity even for the appointment of a committee. I think it is time that this resolution was accepted by the Government in order to bring about equality and fraternity in the Hindu society.

Mr. S. P. RAJAGOPALACHARI.—Sir, we have had a very full discussion on this matter, and I think it is time that I intervened to represent the views of the Government. The Muzrai Commissioner has very fully and comprehensively dealt with the implications of the resolution which has been moved by the hon'ble Member and I do not think it is necessary for me to make any lengthy observations. I shall therefore confine myself to a few points of general interest which have been raised in the course of the discussions.

In the first place, I would like to emphasise the well-known fact that the Government of Mysore have always encouraged the depressed classes in every way with a view to raise their moral and material standards of life, and they have undertaken a series of measures to promote their economic and educational well-being. I do not wish to refer to them at any length now, but I mention this merely to show that Government actively sympathise with the aspirations of the Harijans to raise themselves socially and become valuep members of the Hindu community to which they belong. I may also refer in this connection to the recent gracious order of His Highness admitting members of the depressed classes to the Durbars and it has been referred to in terms of grateful appreciation by many of the members. This measure reflects the impotance attached to the question of the general uplift of Harijans and will probably have more valuable and far-reaching consequences in raising the level of the Harijans in the social scale than any other measure. The question of temple entry, however, stands on a different footing from the other questions affecting the general advancement of the Harijan community. It affects them, of course, vitally, but it also affects other sections of the Hindu community who are deeply interested in the preservation of ancient rituals and religious significance of these temples. And I think all the members will admit that Government have a responsibility not merely towards the Harijans, but also towards other communities. This is particularly so in a matter which concerns with the rellgious beliefs of some sections of the community. It has been the policy of the Government in such matters which are bound up with the religious beliefs of the people, to carry the entire community with them in carrying out reforms however wholesome they may be considered to be. Similarly, even for the leaders of thought it is necessary to carry on propaganda amongst the people. I have myself emphasised this aspect of the matter in my speeches on this very same subject during the last few years. But

I must say that the response so far as educative propaganda is concerned has been very poor. The need for such propaganda even amongst the representatives of the people and some leaders also is very great, if one can judge from the discussion on the subject at the Representative Assembly at the last session to which reference was made by the Muzrai Commissioner—I may assure the House that I do not raise this matter as a debating point. Hon'ble Members will realise that the opposition on the part of a fairly large number of members showed that public opinion is not fully in favour of this reform.

We are now asked to give effect to this reform mainly because similar action has been taken in another State about the conditions of which we are not quite familiar. Our view is that the real solution of the problem lies in educating the general public to realise the necessity and urgency of the step. Government do not wish to force this reform by the exercise of their powers and by issuing strict orders that every temple, whatever its previous history and tradition, should be thrown open to Harijans. Government may have the power to issue such orders and enforce them also. But the reform will be lasting and will do good to the particular community whose welfare we are all so keen to promote, if the move comes from within the Hindu community in favour of it. I trust, sir that, the enthusiasm which has been evoked in recent times in favour of temple entry will be utilised into fruitful channels for enlisting the sympathy of all classes of people in favour of the reform.

Mr. D. V. Gundappa, in his speech, made some suggestions for giving practical effect to this reform. Without going in any way against the general principles which have been stated by me before, I may say that his suggestion that a committee may be set up to go into this question will be examined by the Government.

As regards the proposition now before the House, in view of the reasons assigned by me, Government cannot accept it as it stands.

*Mr. P. SUBBARAMA CHETTY.—If the Government will at least give an assurance that they will consider the question of appointing a committee, it will be something. As it is, they are not committing themselves even to it.

Mr. S. P. RAJAGOPALACHARI.—I am not going to add anything to what I have already said.

Mr. P. SUBBARAMA CHETTY.—Sir, I beg to say that in case Government are going to give the promise that they will consider the question of the formation of a committee sympathetically, then I will withdraw the proposition. In case the Government have nothing more to add to what the First Member of Council has said, I have a few words to say by way of reply. I am glad that I see no opposition in this House by the Members except one or two. So far as non-official side is concerned, I have not heard even one speech against the resolution.

Mr. S. P. RAJAGOPALACHARI.—Is not Mr. Hayavadana Rao a non-official member?

Mr. P. SUBBARAMA CHETTY.—Even he is not against the formation of the committee. On the other hand, he was in favour of the suggestion of Mr. Gundappa that a committee be formed to go into the details. I thank Mr. Garudachar and also Mr. D. V. Gundappa and others for the very sympathetic attitude they have taken on this question. Mr. D. V. Gundappa suggested the formation of a committee so that all these matters may be referred to it for being examined. Even in the State of Travancore, before the Proclamation of His Highness the Maharaja was issued, a committee was appointed called Temple Entry Enquiry Committee. That committee toured the country and took evidence from responsible people representing all kinds of views. The report that has been presented by the Committee has been published and its details are known to all. The Travancore Government has based its order on the report of the Committee. The conditions here are not very different from what they are in Travancore State. If at all, I think the conditions in Travancore are more backward or worse than those in Mysore. It was pointed out by Mr. Rama Iyer in the course of his speech that even high caste Hindus were not being admitted into the temples in Travancore. And we have read in newspapers that low class people were even forbidden from making use of the public roads which surround the temples. In such a place, after the proclamation, we see whole-hearted co-operation from the highest to the lowest. So far as paper reports are concerned, I do not find even one per cent of the people protesting against the proclamation. On the other hand, Mahatma Gandhi when he recently visited Travancore and Vaikom has made a speech saying that even Nambudris who belong to the priestly class and who are very conservative in religious observances have not protested against the proclamation. What does that indiacte? From that it is very clear that they have supported and have given expression to that feeling. This shows that the people who were far behind and subjected to worse treatment than in our State, have risen in one body and co-operated with the Government. I do not see any reason,

therefore, for the formation of a committee in the State to go into the question.

It was said that the Government are the trustees of the temples, and as such they cannot take any drastic action. I would put one question to the Government in this connection, to the Government. What about the Devadasi system? Was it not prevalent in our Mysore State? Were they not going to the temples every evening and offering their services there? Why did Government do away with it? Was it the intention of the founders or the owners of the temples that that system must be done away with by the Government? When a certain practice is found to be against enlightened public opinion, I think it is the duty of the Government to do away with such a practice. Has anybody opposed because the Government took action to abolish the system? That action was taken by the Government in their capacity as the trustees of the temples and not in any other capacity. Their position has not changed now. I do not think any new situation has now arisen in connection with this question.

So far as propaganda is concerned, it was stated by one of the hon'ble members that propaganda was confined to the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council. I am extremely surprised at such a statement. So many organisations have been formed and they have been carrying on, in season and out of season, intensive propaganda. They have been going into the rural parts and delivering series of lectures. Otherwise there would not have been a change of mentality in the caste Hindus. A few speeches in the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council will never convert the mentality of the people.

It was stated by one of the members that the sacredness of the temples will be very much affected in case temples are thrown open to one and all without any distinction. It is said by people who are well versed in Shastras that during the Vedic age, there was no idol worship. Agama Shastras are not as old as Vedas. When they are opposed to the Vedas, the Vedas must prevail. This opinion has been expressed by Pandits like Sundararama Iyer. I shall read only one sentence as regards his opinion on the Agama and Vedas. He says :

"Rhe Agama Sastras, however usefu for the maintenance of social order, can n ver act in such a way as to prevent our adjustments in accordance with the precepts and injunctions of the Vedas, direct and implied. As the Agamas can never have authority overriding the Vedas, we can always retain or reject or modify any current practice which accord with the Agamas, but not sith the Vedas....."

So, in case a committee of panidts and people representing other views is formed, it will find out some solution for all these arguments. But since the Government have not committed themselves to the formation of any committee, it is necessary to point out that Agamas do not come in our way. In case the Agama Sastras had been in the way, the great Ramanujacharya would

never have thrown open the temple at Melkote to these people. Only yesterday, Mr. Garudachar said that he has been visiting the Melkote temple for the past 28 or 29 years, and that the Harijans were not taking full advantage of the privilege they had. I am surprised at that complaint.

Mr. S. P. RAJAGOPALACHARI.—During those particular three days, he said.

Mr. P. SUBBARAMA CHETTY.—It was also stated by the Deputy Commissioner, Mysore District, that even as regards one community people going in procession along the roads inhabited by other communities, there has been much trouble. No doubt, there are such cases. But their number is not large. Their number is very small. And when the people come to know that the Government are against any such practice, people themselves will not raise any objections. I may tell you that during the last Ganapathi procession, the procession of the Harijans with their God passed through every road along with the main procession and I did not hear even one voice protesting against it. Such a thing would not have been possible in olden days. It is only as a result of propaganda that such a change could have been brought about. The Deputy Commissioner, Mysore District, was able to quote some instances. Instances in a large number can be quoted to prove that the mentaility of the people has changed and so on account of some stray instances here and there, we must not take very serious notice of such happenings. The Muzrai Commissioner has said that he is in sympathy with the object of the objects of the resolution. What I want is that that sympathy must be translated into action. As regards other matters the Government are very liberal and nobody has done as much as the Government of Mysore to the Harijan community, for which the community has to be very grateful. But as regards this question of temple entry, I am sorry they have not done a much as they should have done. I only pray Government to be more sympathetic and translate their sympathy into action.

Mr. S. P. RAJAGOPALACHARI.—What does the hon'ble Member want to do about the resolution ?

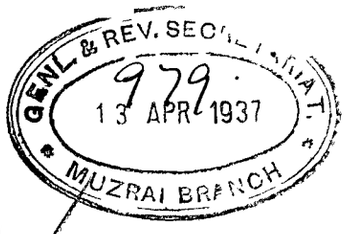
Mr. P. SUBBARAMA CHETTY.—I do not press the proposition in case the Government will sympathetically consider the suggestion to appoint a committee.

Mr. PRESIDENT.—The suggestion will be duly considered by the Government.

Mr. P. SUBBARAMA CHETTY.—In view of the assurance given by the President, I withdraw the resolution.

The resolution was withdrawn by leave of the House.

D. 163



Resolution (I)
January 1937

To be
1. Muz pol
Resolution no 1
Temple Entry
Page 1 to 108

The resolution
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72(4). The Secretary
has to communicate
the resolution to
in the Department

The
resolution
will also be
the Local Branches
concerned for necessary
action.

(Sd) Sundaraja Rao
Under Secretary to Govt.

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General and Revenue Secretariat | File No. | of 193 . | D/650 | [App. F. III—2

Serial No.

The Mayurai (Resolution) file bearing D.No 593 has been sent to the L.C. Office on 16.4.37 for kindly putting up a copy of the proceedings in the subject. The copy of the proceedings has been received here but not the file of the Mayurai L.C. Office is requested to kindly return the said file.

returned.

24/4 24.4.37

The typed proceedings in this file have been furnished for purposes of information only. Some of the speeches herein do not contain corrections indicated by the concerned members. In a few days more, this office will get a copy of the entire proceedings, when it will be possible to send a fair copy to the Mayurai Branch. File bearing D.No 593 has therefore been kept in this office.

K.S.R. 24.4.37

Submitted for perusal. Records in a collect copy of the proceedings on the subject from the L.C. Office will be sent to you when received.

24/4

NOTE—Contn Sheet

WD 0417 CPS—30,000—8-37

RULING

Mr. PRESIDENT: With regard to the point of order raised by my hon. colleague the first yesterday, my ruling is that the convention he referred to is a very healthy one, and I trust that the members of select committees will observe it as far as possible.

I say " as far as possible " because that the members should not be compelled, from expressing a different view in the Council in special circumstances or for special

RESOLUTIONS

No.1

Mr. P. UBBAYASOOTHY: Sir, I beg to move

" That the Council recommends to the Government of His Highness the Maharaja that the people belonging to the Adikarnataka, Adiravida and other untouchable classes be permitted to enter and worship at all the Hindu temples under the management of the Government Rural Department, subject to such rules and conditions as may be laid down and imposed, from time to time, for preserving peace and order and maintaining the religious observances in the temples.

As this is not the first time that a resolution of this kind has come before the Council, I need not dwell at length on its importance. The principle underlying the resolution has been accepted by the Government and by the Council on previous occasions. I trust that the Council will accept the resolution unanimously.

His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore. As we are aware, Travancore is one of the most bigotted orthodox Hindu States in South-ern India if not in the whole of India. There religious customs are more strictly observed then in an, other Hindu State in India. So many people were afraid, after the issue of proclamation, that there would be shed ing of blood. But I do not think that any drop of blood has been shed on this account. On the contrary, hundreds of meetings all over the State have been held expressing approval of the bold step taken by His Highness. A proposal has also been made to instal a statue of His Highness the Maharaja for the bold step he has taken. Unfortunately, our Government, though it is leading the other Indian States in all other matters, has not taken in this matter such a bold step as has been taken by the Maharaja of Travancore. I am sorry that an opportunity that offered that offered itself to this Government has been lost and the honour of introducing the bold reform has gone to a neighbouring State. However, even now I think it is not too late. If we have not been able to take the first place, at least let us have the opportunity of taking the second place. In the last Council when the subject was discussed, the Government said in reply, when I said that a change in the mentality has come over the people, that the change has not come. But what I said proved to be subsequently. The proclamation is being given effect to. And when nothing untoward happened, I do not know there is the fear if we adopt the same step in our State. We are a cosmopolitan than the Hindu population of the

Travancore State? I therefore request the Government to change their view now and throw open temples, at least muzrai temples under their management and control, to the public and earn their gratitude. In order to show that there has been a change in the mentality of the orthodox people of the Hindu community, I would read a few sentences from the article published/ contributed by Professor A. Sundararama Iyer of Kumbakonam. I think that people know that Mr. Sundararama Iyer is a great scholar in South India whose views on religious matters have been respected by the Hindu community. He belongs to a very orthodox section of the Hindu community and he writes very recently, on January 20th, 1937, to the effect that ~~the~~ harijans may be admitted into temples and that by the sanctity of the image will not be affected. He also says: "I am for beginning with an en bling legislation in favour of temple entry for harijans. What I mean is that [illegible] body of trustees or owners of temples resolve to throw open the temples under their management to the depressed classes now excluded therefrom, they must have entire discretion to do so and the law of the land must be so amended as not to fetter their discretion. Even in British India to-day, individual cases of temple entry by representatives of all sections of the depressed classes are daily taking place within the knowledge of orthodox hindus and still nobody has ever taken any steps actively to prevent such instances of violation of orthodox rights. Why should we not boldly decide for the admission such rights of temple worship now denied to the harijans who fall [illegible] pale of Hinduism"

The very same thing I have expressed to you at the above last session of the Madras Legislature this matter. I now find that my report of

donors of certain temples are keeping quiet without raising any protest. I said so at the last occasion, but the Government member said that that was not a fact. Now what I said on the last occasion has been corroborated by such respectful men as Professor Sundaram Iyer. In case the Government admit that there has been a change in the mentality of the public, I do not see any reason why they should delay any longer the question of throwing open the temples to the harijans. I do not like to repeat what has been said on the last occasion and I would only request the Government to be more sympathetic and take a bold step forward and earn the gratitude of millions of harijans who are inhabiting this country. With these words I move the resolution.

Mr. L.H. CHANDRASEKHARAIYA: I have great pleasure to second the resolution moved by my hon. Friend Mr. Subbarama Chetty. For the past several years under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi, great headway has been made in ~~this~~ the direction of the reform. A time there was when the adikarnatakas and adidravidas and other untouchable depressed classes were not even allowed to go near high caste-Hindus. But at the present day these persons are being given all privileges just as other classes are being given. For instance, in a place like Davangere where there is a large populat. of adikarnatakas, they are allowed to go along with other classes of people in processions and untouchability is not taken into consideration at all. In factories and other institutions they all work side by side with other classes of people without any distinction. A hostel has been built for the adikarnatakas and students are moving with those of other communities without any fear or hesitation. Thus in several of the ways the social and religious prospects of th communities are increasing. And in further of those interests this question of temple entry will have to be solved by the Governmen In view of the recent order passed by ~~the~~ His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore, much of the objection which was agitating against the step taken has come down. So far as Mysore is concerned, Government have always been sympathetic towards the adikarnatakas and have been taking ~~taxing~~ a lot of measures

measures to improve their economic [illegible] condition and if what is suggested in the resolution is [illegible] adopted I think it will bring them into the fold of the Hindu community in a more intimate [illegible] and they will feel one with us. I think [illegible] will in a way/solving one of the greatest social [illegible] which have been in existence in the Hindu society. I feel that all classes and communities [illegible] are agreed to this question and I think [illegible] is a very opportune moment for our Government to come forward and accept the resolution and do whatever that lies in their power to bring it into force at the earliest possible moment.

Mr. S.G. KALLIAH (peaking in Kannada): Sir, in whole-heartedly supporting the resolution moved by my hon. Friend Mr. T. Subbarama Chetty, I wish to bring to the notice of Government one or two matters. The question of temple entry by Harijans who are as much the subjects of the State as any other community has become a hardy annual. In one form or other it has been before the public and the Government for several years past and the importance of the question has also been recognised by all. In particular, our Government have been very sympathetic towards the Adidravidas and Adikarnatakas. It is no exaggeration to say that no other State or Administration has interested itself so much as Mysore in improving the condition of the depressed classes. That is a hard fact which must be acknowledged by one and all, and I believe it is mainly due to this keen interest of our Government in the welfare of the depressed classes that they have received the approbation of many rulers and administrators who have visited the State. Our State has had the proud privilege of taking a lead in introducing many a social legislation in the State. But it is a matter for regret that, in one particular respect, i.e., temple entry, our State is behind the times. No doubt there will always be opposition from some quarter or other to every reform. In such cases, what the Government should do is to go by public opinion. If public opinion is against a particular measure, it should not be forced on the people. But if it is in favour of it, then the Government ought not to hesitate to take action. Similarly, in regard to the question under discussion, a vast majority of people are for allowing Harijans into temples. It is only a few people, a microscopic minority, who are

are against it on the ground that it is against mamool and sastras. But their arguments do not carry conviction to the thinking public. And because of that small opposition, the Government need not be deterred from taking action which will satisfy the vast majority. On the other hand they should do what is just for the Harijans. I cannot help repeating what my hon. Friend Mr. Subbarama Chetty said a little while ago in connection with the Proclamation of His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore. That State is one of the strongholds of orthodox Hindus in Southern India. Religious customs are more strictly observed there than in any other part of India, so much so that members of the depressed classes were prohibited from making use of even the road in front of the Sri Padmanabhaswami Temple - letting alone the question of permitting them to enter the temple. And perhaps hon. Members of the House must be aware of the historic Satyagraha offered by several hundreds of people in front of the temple as a result of which many of the satyagrahis were put into jail. Such a conservative State has now taken a bold step forward and ~~known~~ thrown open to Harijans not only the streets but also the temples. Such being the case, it is a matter for surprise that in our State in which the depressed classes have long been enjoying many privileges, they should be denied the privilege of temple entry. Every Harijan in our State has free access to any public street and what is now suggested is that our State should take one more step in its onward march by throwing open the Muzrai managed temples to depressed classes

Government need not have any fear that there will be an uproar by the caste Hindus if this very desirable step is taken. There might be some bickering here and there for a little while, but ultimately I am sure that everybody will inevitably reconcile himself to the new situation, and then all glory will be to Mysore which will continue in all respects to be model for the whole of India.

26th Jany. (3)

MR. D.V. GUNDAPPA:-- Sir, last time when this question came up before this House, I took it upon myself to submit what I considered to be the view of the orthodox and the unorthodox section of the Hindu community in this regard. Briefly stated, that view is just that the institution of temple worship is based on certain ancient texts and customs which may comprehensively be described as Agamas. The very Agamas prescribe how the rituals are to be conducted, what scriptural texts should be recited on the occasion of service in the temples, who should approach the temple and worship the image and who should not. The main substance of the argument is that if the conditions prescribed by the Agamas are in any way violated or modified, the sanctity and the occult powers which the temple image derives from the Agamas would suffer and that temple worship in the temples would become void. This, very roughly stated, is the view of the orthodox community. I also took care on the occasion to say that I personally do not share these views and I do not consider that it is necessary for us to discuss here the merits or wrongs of these views. I ventured to say that this entire question of religion and sanctities lies in a region which is above human senses and human rationality, and that it belongs to a region which cannot be [illegible]. Therefore, sir, I do not think that in this we need go into this subject, whether [illegible] temple worship. I think it should be recognised, whether this view [illegible]

or wrongly, that there is great sincerity behind it. These views are held honestly and earnestly by a considerable section of the temple going public. This was the case as I stated on the last occasion.

Since then, the changes that had begun a long time before in this matter in public opinion have continued and gathered a momentum. The pressure of the public demand has been increasingly felt by all Governments and the action of Travancore has given a great historic impetus to this movement for higher religious privileges to the community of harijans among the Panchamas. I am not going to discuss here the rights and wrongs of the Travancore Government's action, because even about that action there has been a difference of opinion in the Hindu community. The orthodox section of the unreformed section of the Hindu community has been protesting as we could see from the columns of the newspapers. While we may or may not accept Travancore as our model, we have to recognise that there is great generosity and great loftiness and a great humanity behind the action of Travancore. They have been actuated and inspired by great solicitude for the welfare of a considerable section of the Hindu public and also by a great feeling of solicitude for the solidarity of the Hindu community itself. The action of Travancore is bound to have a consequential and very important impact upon public opinion throughout the country. As a matter of fact, this has happened and public opinion

was already ~~beginning~~ demanding a reform in the matter had become more encouraged, since I [illegible] insistent. Therefore, I appeal to Government that in this matter they have got to take note of the spirit of the times and make what [illegible] able move they could towards meeting the wish of the reformers. We cannot for all time hope to meet this problem by merely shelving from time to time. We cannot ~~for ever bury~~ bury it; we cannot for ever keep it suppressed and we ~~xxxxxx~~ gain nothing by deferring it from time to time. Some kind of action, sympathetic action which will help us to realise the situation is, I venture to think, very much needed called for. In this matter there is no room for either fanaticism or counter fanaticism. I have already submitted that those who are opposed to the reform are actuated by [illegible] sincerity. On the other side, those who want the reform are equally actuated by very great sincerity and nobility of mind. That is why the duty of the Government and every [illegible] is to find a way of reconciliation between two opposite moves, and I think such a reconciliation is possible, and it may be [illegible] if the Government will take a sympathetic view of the matter.

Last time, I have already [illegible] position of Government in regard to [illegible] there is that of a trustee. [illegible] tion which the Government [illegible] ed on I unqualifiedly accept [illegible] but then, I [illegible] this question.

[illegible] trustee in [illegible]

existence of two ~~other~~ parties; firstly the founder and secondly the beneficiary. from the trust. Now if the Government is the trustee in regard to the temples, who is the founder of the trust? If the founder is not alive, is there any representative of the trust.--~~or~~ one who can reasonably be regarded as the representative of the founder ? And secondly the beneficiaries and their number is really a legion. The entire Hindu community is the beneficiary and the beneficiaries of the trust have been pressing it upon the attention of the Government that a certain reform, certain changes in the existing practices are necessary, if the trustee has got to discharge his ~~solemn~~ responsibilities properly, so that their ~~proper~~ action in this matter is a duty cast upon the Government by virtue of their admitted capacity as trustees. They have something to do.

And who are the founders of the trust ? From time immemorial, the great pandits, the repositaries of religious learning, the people who interpret the Agamas ~~and~~ and Shastras as ~~they~~ are today the representatives of the founders . Those who built the temples and endowed them with properties were people who lived by the Agamas and the Shastras so that it is reasonable for us to take that they are today the custodians of the Agamas and the Shastras as the representatives of the ancient founders of these temples and other religious institutions. And then, the great pandits, exponents of vedic learning,

and exponents of Shastras and the Vedas. These are today the representatives of the founders of the trusts. That being so, it seems to me that it is the duty of the Government to consult these representatives as to what it is that can possibly and reasonably be done in the existing circumstances. It seems to me that all that is asked for today is that the status of Savarnas should be conferred on the Avarnas. And I think it should not be beyond the learning and imagination of the heads of our great religious institutions to devise some way for conferring such a status upon the others who are regarded as Avarnas. In ancient texts, I understand, there are passages prescribed as to the means by which the status of Savarnas could be conferred on Avarnas. They have ceremony for purification (Shuddhi Ceremony); ceremony for Upadesha (Initiation) and for Diksha (religious discipline). There are these texts and they are interpreted by the great pundits and heads of our Mutts. I think if they are approached in a proper manner and if the needs of the times are properly explained to them, -- most of them live in the medieval world; and I may say without any disrespect to them that they are living in a world of their own -- and if their sympathy is enlisted, will be very near the solution.

I may recall to your mind, Sir, the meeting took place at the Conservative Club in the Chairman's room [illegible]

His Holiness Sri Parakalaswami. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya happened to be there and you and the First Member of Council were both present. In very appealing terms, Pandit Malaviya suggested to the Swami and the pandits assembled there that it was incumbent upon the learned and the orthodox Hindu society to devise some means by which these Avarnas could be raised to the ~~xxxxxx~~ status of Savarnas. It is purely their province./ And I ~~xxxx~~ venture to say/that if only they are approached in the proper manner~~xxx~~ and if the case is explained to them in its fullness, they will suggest some way by which some kind of a ceremony can be devised to give these Avarnas the status of Savarnas. When these Swamis and Mathadhipathies and pandits have given their ~~xxxxxxxx~~ advice about this, I think it will be perfectly legitimate for this legislature to take any action in the matter, and for His Highness the Maharaja to issue a proclamation in the terms of these recommendations. When some days ago one of the speakers in Madras in a meeting held in connection with celebrating the great action of Travancore said that according to Hindu customs and scriptures, it is up to the king to make any necessary changes in the religious and social laws of his subjects, some voices were raised questioning the right of ~~xxx~~ a Hindu king to do so. I am not a ~~xxxx~~ learned man and I do not pretend to be conversant with all the texts. But I think I may make bold to say that there are passages in the Smritikars which authorise the king to introduce changes which he considers necessary in the social and ecclesi-

ecclesiastical law of the times on the advice of competent ministers and learned men. I do not think that ~~many~~ learned men, men of vision, men of great humanity and purity of character are totally absent to day. In spite of this being the age of Kali, I think we still have among us some people of great intelligence nobility and purity of mind. Also of great spiritual insight and shastraic knowledge. They can be trusted to give us the spirit of the Board in the ancient texts. If therefore, ~~a Board~~ constituted by the Government, enjoying the confidence of the Government and with all the prestige which the appointment of Government gives, and if that Board interviewed the great Mathadhipathies and not only ask for their ~~learned~~ opinion in a categorical way, but explained the situation to them, and tried to persuade them, I think they will help us in solving the ~~whole~~ problem. I therefore suggest that the Government should appoint a committee according to their own discretion.-- a small committee headed by a man of experience and standing -- to visit the important centres of religious life and learning pertaining to the persuasions of the Hindu religion, ~~obtaining their suggestions~~ to explain the situation to them and to obtain their suggestions as to how the status of Savarna could be conferred on everyone. When this problem is once solved, it will have solved not only the question of temple entry but also several allied questions that may crop up from time to time.

Sir, it may be said that the people interested in this question may themselves set up a committee. I submit that such a committee will not be able to do any justice to the cause in the first place the Government may refuse to look at this committee as the Ecclesiastical bureaucracy is as much bound as the Governmental bureaucracy. I am not intending to suggest any reflection. That is the way of official corporations. When a question is put, the answer is given either in the affirmative or in the negative in monosyllables "yes" or "no". This kind of a procedure will not do. It will be a committee of reconciliation. We have to go about; it may take a little time. I do hope that sooner or later and it will be very satisfactory. In recommending for the acceptance of the Government, the substance of this resolution, ~~that my suggestion for the appointment of~~ a committee with wide enough terms of reference and composed really of men of light in our society, be accepted.

MR. K. CHENGALAYA REDDY: Mr. President, Sir, I feel it my bounden duty to accord my whole-hearted support to the resolution which has been placed before this House. The subject matter covered by this resolution is of all-India importance if not world importance at the present moment. It is needless for me to refer to the Genesis of this movement, the way in which it has developed and the way in which it has culminated in the present moment by the historic and the monumental proclamation issued by His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore. We are concerned now only with the bare facts of the proclamation, the way in which it has worked, the repurcussions it has created and to consider in what way our State should follow up in all this important matter. I do not think, Sir, that this subject need advocates of any type, because when it is borne in mind that this subject has the advocacy of the greatest man of India, if not of the whole world, Mahatma Gandhi. The way in which he has put the case before the world stands there for every one to consider and decide upon the merits and demerits of it. It would be arrogatory and presumptuous on my part to advance any fresh reasons or fresh light of the matter. In one or two words as has been pointed out by Mahatmaji this is a question of the life or death of Hinduism. He has stated categorically more than once on occasion that if Hinduism as actually lives, practised does not stand

has to live and function at all, this untouchability with all its implications must be rooted root and branch from the social structure of the country. And it is in pursuance of that statement, in pursuance of the realisation of the implications of that statement, that the consciousness of the Hindu community in the whole of India has been roused and in pursuance of that consciousness that His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore has taken a step which will live for ever in the annals of the history of the world. And I would like to humbly submit on the floor of this House that it is our bounden duty and the duty of the State to follow up that exemplary action. Now I wish it were given to this State to take the lead in this matter ! It was only a few months back that we had the pleasure of learning the gracious act undertaken by His Highness the Maharaja himself when he departed from the age-long tradition of not allowing our Harijan brethren into the portals of the palace on the occasion of the Durbars. It was only during the last Dasara Durbars that His Highness was pleased to depart from the ancient tradition of giving access to the Harijans to the portals of the Palace. We all felt glad and we would have felt exceedingly more glad if it had been followed up immediately by a proclamation of the kind that His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore has issued. The least that could have been easily done is lost, is to them some of us and I for one as a layman feel sorely

about it.

MR. PRESIDENT: Why do you grudge another State taking the lead? By all means, let them do so.

MR. K. CHENGALARAYA REDDY: I wish we had taken the lead. I am zealous and patriotic enough to think that we had that privilege and that honour in the history of the world. But apart from that, I would like to refer briefly on this occasion to two or three aspects of this vital problem.

I do not think the argument will be seriously advanced by any section of the population that it is not the duty of the Government to interfere with established religious practices or traditions. I think that argument, even if it is advanced, will not hold water for a long time. It is our experience and history tells us that on many an occasion in the past, many a Government has taken steps which have seriously interfered and reformed religious and social practices of the people. It is unnecessary for me at the present moment to cite instances, but anyone who has even made a cursory study of History will bear out the fact that States, on more than one occasion, have thought it fit to interfere with even religious and social practices of the people. I do not therefore think that that argument will be advanced seriously, but if it is done, the example of Travancore, the action taken by Travancore as a State and the results that follow, amply justify the contention that it is

primary and paramount duty of any Government to interfere even with the religious customs and practices of the people, provided one is convinced that it is good for the social structure of the country.

And then it may be said that the position of the Government of Mysore is entirely different from that of the position of the Government of Travancore, so far as the former's relationship with the xxxxxxx temples are concerned. It may be said that the Travancore Government has a large amount of control over the temples under their management in the sense that a major portion of the revenues of these temples is contributed by the Government and that in Mysore the situation is not the same in the sense that the Government's contribution to the temples under their management is very meagre indeed and that xxx in the majority of cases, a larger portion of the contribution xx comes from sources other than Government. But th t in these circumstances it is not feasible, it is not practicable for the Government of Mysore to take the same course of action as the Government of Travancore have done. Well, the difference, I beg to submit, is only a question of degree. In essence, the position of the Government of Mysore as far as temples are concerned is the same as it is not fundamentally different from the position of the Government of Travancore [illegible] in their State.

And then, it may be [illegible]

situation is not ripe, is not suitable, for introducing such a reform like this at the present moment, and pointed attention may be drawn to some of the glaring features of the situation as it exists today in Mysore. It may be said that so far as the people are concerned, leave alone the intelligentia who can bring about this problem, but so far as the rural and file of the villagers are concerned, their attitude towards a question like this is definitely decided one in the sense that they are opposed to any such reform like this. And I am anticipating some arguments like this and trying to give explanations to them, and leave the rest to my hon. Friend Mr. [illegible] to reply to any subsequent arguments that may be put forward. It may be said that instead of talking big, we might calmly consider the situation in the country at the present moment, and the attitude of the common people towards the rights of marijuana so far as even fundamental rights are concerned, e.g., the question of the accessibility of wells, of the right of entry into roads, of water fire tanks and ponds and similar things like that. It may be said that so far as those aspects are concerned, the people of Mysore are against granting of any concessions to marijuana in any of its directions. And instances will be put before us that even with regard to these legislative fundamental rights, the Governa section of the Hindu community are opposed to [illegible] and that if this reform is thrust upon [illegible]

it were by the Fiat of the Government or a Proclamation, the consequences would be disastrous, that the net result will be setting up of commotion, if not of a revolutionary character, of at least considerable dimensions in the minds of the public at large, that the Savarnas, the Lingayets, the Vokkaligars and others will be dead against this reform and that the peace of the country will be disturbed to a certain extent.

MR. PRESIDENT: Are the Lingayets as a community in favour of the reform ?

MR. K. CHENGALARAYA REDDY: I am not competent to say anything on behalf of the Lingayets.

MR. PRESIDENT: What about the Vokkaligars ?

MR. H.C. DASAPPA: Absolutely. I can give a guarantee.

MR. PRESIDENT: You seem to be pretty sure about it.

MR. H.C. DASAPPA: On 10 or 12 occasions, we had jatras in Chunchangiri when all Harijans were allowed to pass before the temple.

MR. M.C. LINGE GOWDA: All the Harijans are allowed in the temple. No objection.

MR. PRESIDENT: Your Swami has no objection ?

MR. M.C. LINGE GOWDA: No.

MR. D.H. CHANDRASEKHARAIYA: His Holiness the Murugharajendra Swami of Chitaldrug has issued a proclamation to the effect that the Harijans

might enter all temples.

MR. P[illegible]: Forces are tending in the direction of themselves, evidently.

MR. K. C[illegible]AN NAIR: This is the situation and the apprehensions in the mind of Government that if this reform is enforced by means of a proclamation there would be a convulsion as it were in the Hindu society, is, I venture to submit, a baseless one. I would like to substantiate my statement by one or two instances. Take the case of Travancore. If at all there is any state in the whole of India, or rather I would like to say that if there was any state in the whole of India where the deadliest type of untouchability was prevailing, untouchability tapering into various forms of unapproachability, unseeability, I think I would be right in saying that it is Travancore. If there was any place where the people of the state were definitely opposed to such a reform, and where this ghastly system of untouchability had its largest following, it was Travancore. It was in this State that by the whole system has been changed by a stroke of the pen. What is the result? Has there been any convulsion? any revolution? any breaking of heads? From what we see in papers there is nothing but jubilation over the proclamation, so that one wonders if it was all possible in a state like Travancore. As Mahatma Gandhi has said, it has been a miracle. As he said, a peaceful revolution.

[illegible]

Highness has not been his own self, but [illegible]
that of Sri Padmanabhaswamy Ammavaru who has
His Highness as his instrument by whom [illegible]
he himself wrote the proclamation. [illegible]
today
the situation in Travancore/ was [illegible]
was in its deadliest form. The great [illegible]
has led to nothing but this: has left [illegible]
And I have no reason to believe that if similar
action is taken in Mysore, the results [illegible]
those that have followed in Travancore must
result here. Let me take our own State, and
see what happened here when a [illegible]
~~[illegible]~~ [illegible]
the Government publish an order to the effect
that all the Government schools should be [illegible]
open to the members of all communities, irres-
pective of their creed or caste. For
~~[illegible]~~ [illegible]
wanting, since it was a Government [illegible]
issued, the immediate result was [illegible]
a revolution. [illegible]
leaf fell. [illegible]
Government Trust or Society. [illegible]
in more places, there was [illegible]
ment Order, but still, it was [illegible]
Government Trust was not [illegible]
Muslims [illegible]
sions will value if the fountain
or religion [illegible]
[illegible]
great [illegible]
[illegible]
They [illegible]
[illegible]

the privilege of entering and worshipping in the imagoes of temples where/Rama, Hariyana, Govinda [illegible] installed. I do not for a moment think that there will be any revolution; any mistu[illegible] of the people. True, some spade work [illegible] done. I now come to that point.

Government might say, "my friends, it is right for you to make this demand; to request His Highness the Maharaja that he be pleased to issue the proclamation. But have you prepared the country? Have you done enough propagandas in this matter ? Have you convinced the people about the justice of this reform ? Are you quite sure that the people will be behind you? Have you not seen that heads are broken on smaller issues ? What have you done ? " What we have done or have not done is a matter of dispute. But I can say this much that all of us who are pleading for this reform will devote every energy to bring down resolutions and resolutions if there are any, to appreciate the justness of such a reform, and to explain to them the absolute necessity for such a reform if only our intention is to save Hinduism from immediate decay and ultimate extinction. ~~If the matter is put in the~~ proper manner, we, the representatives of the people are willing to do what we can to [illegible] round people to appreciate a reform like this. I believe, that the time is ripe for ~~taking~~ taking this step which has been long overdue. As I indicated, it is more [illegible] fountain head of all power, [illegible] if it is in the [illegible]

Ruler of a great Hindu State, in order to s
Hinduism from decay and ultimate extinc
in order to reform Hinduism and e
excrescences that have gathered round i
pleased to issue a proclamation
admit all the Harijans into
great step will have been taken, and
whole country will rejoice to an extent
the dreams of one's expectations.
are; apprehensions there are, but I ver
submit that they are fundamentally
and the action that may be taken will
nothing but good. So, I
feel that if similar
as in the Travancore State is taken
lar results will follow and the glor
and of our country will become more.

With these words, I be
resolution.

Rajasabhabhushana Diwan Bahadur K.R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR: Sir, I do not desire to make any lengthy speech. I am not capable of the eloquence of my friend Mr. Chengalaraya Reddy. I shall however only say just a few words on the subject. As the learned mover of the resolution mentioned, it is not the first time that this subject has been before this House. When last time it was discussed, elaborate speeches were made both for and against the resolution and the speeches made on that occasion are still quite fresh in the minds of the members of this House. There is very little one can say to supplement the arguments that were adduced on both sides on that occasion. In fact, most of the statements made here and even the speech of Mr. Chengalaraya Reddy are practically repetitions of the statements made on the last occasion. The only additional argument and a very strong one as the mover and the supporters of the resolution make it out, is that in the sister State of Travancore which has all along been considered to be a stronghold of orthodoxy, a very momentous change has been introduced by the Fiat of the Ruler of the State. It has been said that a great change has come over the people of the State and as the result of that change, we should take similar action. I have know information or knowledge as to whether a change has come over the people of the State, but at any rate there is no doubt that a change has come over the Ruler of the State, because it is he who issued the Proclamation. hether it reflected the views of all the people of the

State and especially of those who had been originally considered to be opposed to this temple entry movement who were considered to be orthodox, what change has come over them, we have no idea. - No doubt it has been said that we did not hear of revolutions or revolts or any strong expressions of opinion on the part of the people of Travancore against the proclamation That may speak much for their loyalty or attachment to their Sovereign or for the conditions under which their opinions are not allowed to be published or communicated outside. I have had occasion to speak to some people belonging to Travancore and the impression that they created in my mind was that all was not as was made to appear on the surface. There is a lot of undercurrent of discontent, and dissatisfaction among the orthodox community and it was afraid to make itself felt.

MR. PRESIDENT: I think it is better not to sit in judgment over affairs of other States.

MR. K.R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR: I do not want to say a word about that. Only recently an account is given of an interview to the Madras Mail Correspondent by Mahatma Gandhi and we are made to understand even from Mahatma Gandhi's own words that there was some amount of opposition and even the Senior Rani would not give effect to the proclamation issued by the Maharaja.

And what has been the attitude of the sister State of Cochin ? which is adjacent to Travancore where as Mahatma himself has stated

in some of ~~the~~ his speeches that the conditions are exactly similar. In fact, I know that the laws of inheritance, laws of worship, almost everything are ~~xxxxxx~~ absolutely the same in both the States. One would have thought that in a matter like this the two States would have acted in consultation with each other. But what is the attitute of Cochin ? We all know that His Highness the Maharaja of Cochin has dissociated himself from this proclamation. On the other hand, he has issued an order that archaks of temples in his State who are also archaks in temples of the Travancore State, ~~xxxxxxxx~~ to which Harijans hage been admitted should be forbidden to perform pooja in temples in Cochin. After all, the Maharaja of Cochin is not an young man. He is aged and considering his age, his views are entitled to great respect.

I know that there are a very large number of people with advanced views/among all sections of social reform of the Hindu community, especially among Brahmins. The views of Mr. Sundararama Iyer were quoted by my friends. I know him personally and have got very great respect for him and also for a very large number of others who hold advanced views in matters of social reform. But there are equally weighty views on the other side, so that these are not matters which could be decide merely by the weight of opinion of a few people either on this side or that. As some member said, in matters of religion, the reform must come from within and should not be forced from

without and ~~xxxhe~~ this is the view that was expressed by the Dewan Sahib himself on another occasion.in the Representative Assembly. Reform of this kind must come from within and should no be forced from without either by legislation or by executive orders. Sometime back, Mr. Satyamurthy when he was asked for his opinion about the Travancore Proclamation said that he was quite opposed to any religious reform by legislation, but ~~xxxhxxxgxxxxxx~~ so far as the reform by executive orders were concerned, he applauded the action of the Travancore Goverinmen I do not myself see any difference between legis lation and executive orders. Legislation has at least got one safeguard, viz., the members of the Legislative Council who represent the public will have an opportunity of expressing their opinion, but if an order were to be promulgated by the Fiat of the Sovereign, people are voiceless. ~~Generally, however, there is very little difference. I consider that in all such matters, reform must come from within.~~ Mr. Chengalaraya Reddy very rightly said that we must do propaganda.work. I quite agree with that view. Some of the greatest social reformers were themselves Brahmins. Dayananda Saraswathi, the founder of Arya Samaj was himself a Brahmin. Founders of most of the other ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ religious sects were **prp**ably Brahmins. They did not depend upon the Government or upon the legislators to spread their cult ~~xxx~~ among the people. They spread it by the force of their arguments. By all means, let social reformers who are in support of the

temple entry movement, convert people to their view. This is not a matter in which the Government or the legislator should interfere.

A question was raised as to whether the Sovereign has got authority or not. I will not enter into that question. Assuming that the Sovereign had the authority, I should say that he should not exercise his ~~xighixxx~~ authorith in an autocratic manner against the wishes of the people affected by it, however minor that community be. He has got to respect the sentiments of even the minority affected by any order that he may pass. Time was in the old days when a saivaite (Chola) king ordered that everybody must subscribe to the superiority of Siva. Time was when a English King considered that all his subjects must be either Protestants or Christians and ordered persecution of people who did not subscribe to that view. Those days are all gone. Kings do not consider themselves as dictators of the religion of their subjects. Religious practices and observances are left to be practised by the people without any pressure or threat from the ~~xxxhxxxxxxxx~~ Government. So that I do not think this is a matter in which the Government can by a fiat of their authority dictate what has got to be done.

Roman Catholics ?

When the question as regards the throwing open of temples was raised on previous ~~xxxxxxxx~~ occasions, it was stated that the muzrai temples under the control and management of the Government are not the private property of the Government and that they are in the position of trustees. Mr. R.V. Gundappa raised the

question : Who are the trustees ? Either their founders or beneficiaries. As he said, the founders are no longer in existence. [illegible] beneficiaries desire it, then perhaps the case may be considered. Are the beneficiaries for the proposed change ? Who is to say whether they are or whether they are not ? Are we to take it from some of our friends here? I certainly applaud the sincerity of their convictions and the enthusiasm with which they are putting forward their case. But are we to take it for granted that they express the views and sentiments of the large number of people who are affected by it ?

MR. H.C. DASAPPA: If they do not, who else can on the floor of this House ?

MR. K.R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR: A few gentlemen posing themselves as social reformers cannot be ~~pose themselves as representatives~~ of the vast majority of the people. Mr. Chengalaraya Reddy has himself said "~~I~~e have definite proof and definite evidence that the majority of the masses of the people are in favour of any such change" Even then, I should say that this is not a matter merely to be decided by any majority vote. I ~~certainly~~ think this is certainly not a matter in which the Government should intervene. Mr. D.V. Gundappa's suggestion that the Government, in view of the spirit of the times, may take action to consult heads of religious institutions and request to see whether any practical way could be found to give effect to the proposal may be considered by the Government

Let me say one more word before concluding. As Mr. D.V. Gundappa said, the Sanatanists and the orthodox community -- my friends may call them bigotted -- honestly believe that the idol is the embodiment of God and this is brought about by the observances of certain forms of ceremonies which are prescribed in sacred texts. They also believe that the violation of the rules prescribed in these texts will take away the sanctity of the idols and convert them into mere blocks of wood or stone or whatever else it may be. By throwing open the temples to all people without any regard to these religious texts, the Sanatanists and the orthodox people consider that the sacredness of the temple will be taken away. It may gladden the hearts of persons who are opposed to idol-worship because this will probably be the first step in the direction of abolition of idolatry. It may gladden the hearts of some people even among the Hindus like the Arya Samajists and others. But I should think that it will be an unwise step. For the sake of getting the applause from people who do not believe in the texts which prescribe methods of procedure to be adopted for maintaining the sacredness of the idols, I do not want the State to take any such steps merely and gratuitously for the pleasure of copying some other State.

One of our friends said that the State has lost an opportunity of taking the lead in the matter. I do not want to say anything about it. Whether we have lost an opportunity of acquiring fame or notriety, it is a question of

of opinion. Some consider it a fame and some notriety. So I do not want to say anything on the point.

With these few words, I oppose the resolution.

SRI. M. VENKATARAMANA RAO MEDIA: In further supporting the resolution, I do not wish to make any elaborate speech. I very much appreciate the suggestion put forward by my friend Mr. L.V. Gundappa that a conference of both orthodox and non-orthodox people. This is a question of social reform and does not concern a few members in this House. Some may oppose and others may support. But this is a question which xxxxxxxxx affects the people at large. So I very much appreciate the suggestion of Mr. L.V. Gundappa and I will be glad if a conference is called. Times are changing. I will just mention one instance. A Srivaishnava gentleman who was an Assistant Commissioner during my xxxx school days, if he shook hands with a European, he would run and bathe. Now things have changed and Mr. T.N. Tiruvarur Iyengar xxxxxxxxx puts on tie and collar which perhaps he would not have worn 50 years ago. He is now prepared to take tea with other people. 50 years ago, xxx we would have taken stones at him. Times have changed. So, I think we have to change our social conditions. A very much with that the conference should be called by Mr. Gundappa be held, and the question thrashed out.

26th Jany. (3)

Mr. B... GARUDACHAR: I would just like to say a few words on this resolution. The hon'ble member said that we are having a referendum in respect of this reform, but I would say that Sri Ramanuja introduced this system into a thousand years ago. Even quite recently a couple of years ago. Belonging to one of the Vaishnava sect, I take pride over the action of Sri Ramanuja in respect of this reform. I am just asking my friends who are interested in the temple entry question, what advantage has this community taken till these years. Except a few Harijans who live in the neighbourhood of the temple/-- those who are the disciples of the temple and those who worship Melkote as their God, others have not taken advantage of this privilege which has been extended to such hundreds of years back. I am visiting Melkote every year for the last 25 years and I can say with fear of contradiction that none of the Harijans except those living in the surrounding villages, have not taken advantage of this privilege.

Mr. ... : ... any one of the temple.

... : ... not stated ... whether people who do not enter the temple, whether they are for or against the ... have between ... that ...

Some of my friends said that Hinduism will become extinct/~~xxxxxxx~~, if the reform was not given effect to.

Sri K. VENKATARAMAYA REDDI: It is only a personal view. That ~~xxxxxx~~ is the view expressed by no less a person than Mahatma Gandhi.

Sri B.P. JAWALKER: I am sure Hinduism will not die. It has withstood the onslaughts of so many other religions during its career of thousands of years. It is so strong that it will never disappear. Members may rest assured about it. So to say that if temple entry is not allowed to Harijans, Hinduism is going to become extinct is not a statement that could be seriously made.

My hon. friend Sri Subbarama Chetty referred to the views expressed by Sri Kuppuswami Iyer of Kumbakonam. I have got the greatest regard for him. He is a great pundit. ~~The~~ His Holiness the Jagadguru of Sringeri Mutt, when people of Mysore wrote to him, ~~he gave~~ replied that if the Mysore Government have done it they have done a torture. Instead of that if such a thing happens, the temple may be closed. ~~You may do whatever you please.~~ You cannot do it as the Government." ~~This is a matter to be examined by all concerned as suggested by Sri A.V. Subbarao or Sri Subbarama Iyer or some other thing, the word of purport nor anything else etc.~~ Sri Subbarao says that the Mysore Government are absolutely in favour of temple entry. I do not think it is so. I have talked to the Maharaja, the Diwan and other Ministers

His Holiness the Jagadguru ---------- asking for his opinion as to what they should do and, he

an interpellations in this House about some
Harijans taking water from a tank in the village
or study. It makes me trouble to the
situation. The people almost of the
Mr. Chandrasekharaiya may that the
have no objection. But we
Since we are accession
public schools.

Mr. J.P. RAJGOR, MARSHAL: [illegible]
~~how Harijan schools~~ general
are admitted into ~~by name~~ schools from
districts ?

Mr. [illegible] : No. They are not
admitted.

King Vekkes. No. No. That is not
information.

Mr. [illegible] : The number are not
the village. They are allowed freely in
other schools.

Mr. [illegible] : That is a
tion.

Mr. [illegible] : Mr. Speaker, Sir,
however seen a few villages. I have
many villages and the
villagers. I have not seen
two Harijans in the village.

[illegible] of ground, [illegible]

by the District Boards when any grant is asked for is that in such schools, Harijan boys should be admitted along with others. On account of that, many schools have not come up.

MR. P. RAMA REDDI: If the schools are built in temples, they are not allowed.

DR. B.K. GARUDACHAR: Any how, it is admitted that there are restrictions. It has been said that Government are the trustees of the temples. ~~Mr. Gundappa has explained the situation very well.~~ Some thousands of years back, endowments were made and we cannot expect any men of that family to be living. ~~He has~~ Therefore answered the question "Who are the trustees"? They are persons well versed in Shastras and Agamas. We must consult them. ~~Mr. Gundappa~~ has suggested the formation of a committee. That is a very good suggestion. We are now passing through a time in which this agitation for temple entry is getting stronger. We must therefore take our orthodox people into our confidence, explain them the difficulties of the state and induce them to join us. To put down orthodoxy by means of legislation is not right. Therefore I suggested by Mr. Gundappa a committee may be formed to take notes of all people and the orthodox section of the community to the reform. ~~xk~~ I hope this will not lose sight of.

26th Jany. (3)

Mr. T. [illegible]: Sir, even while framing this resolution, we were careful enough to add that the Government will permit the entry of Harijans into temples subject to such rules and conditions as may be laid down and imposed by Government for preserving the proper atmosphere and maintaining the rituals and observations in the temples. Because at least I for one felt that it was for Government as custodians and trustees and managers of the temples vested in them to see that the rituals and observations were observed regularly and in a proper manner when they permit the Harijans to enter the temples. We are not for wounding the feelings and susceptibilities of the orthodox section of the Hindu community. Although this question has been discussed on previous occasions on the floor of this House, the special reason for bringing it up before the House now is this. All over India, people are moving forward. This is the hour when we should be given by our gracious Sovereign in this matter. Having had an opportunity to travel in various parts, I have been constantly asked by the people "What step is Travancore going to take with regard to this question of temple entry?" Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas, the leader of the Hindu community of Bombay, when he wrote an article congratulating the Maharaja of Travancore, wrote one long paragraph in which he congratulated and thanked our Regency for his gracious action in permitting Harijans to attend the Durbar. He stated, therein, that a great and momentous step has been taken

of Mysore. We also added that very soon His Highness will be equally graciously pleased to give the power of entry to Harijan subjects into the temples. In other places also in the leading articles of newspapers, there is a request that other Indian States, particularly Mysore, should take the lead in this matter. Hence, we have brought forward this resolution before this house. We know the arguments adduced. One thing is very clear. Not three years ago this question was mooted, there was a great volume of opposition, ~~[illegible]~~ as a result of the lead taken by Jenkaracharya of Puri and various other religious leaders. We know that when a bill was moved in the Madras Legislature, there was a great opposition and Mr. C. V. Ranga Iyer who was in charge of the bill, had to withdraw it. Matters have very much changed. Not only in Travancore but throughout the length and breadth of India congratulations are showered on the Maharaja of Travancore, but they have come from all Indian States and British India. Now a suitable steps should be taken in the matter. Here, I wish to thank His Highness the Maharaja for the love reposed in him as Sovereign of the State to reconstitute the whole of Hindu life on the basis of Hindu Dharma. Today, we are in the position, through the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi or Jagadguru Sankaracharya to ask the Government to take initiative. We have to act a bill in a suitable manner so that before the next [illegible]

and be discussed. In this connection, 4 years ago, the Rt. hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru [illegible] said "what is the good of our having [illegible] and legislative bodies if they are to [illegible] in future from beneficial social legislation? Go then, I say to initiate the [illegible] is said now "Let it come from within. Certainly. The representatives of the people are in touch with the people and must reflect by their conduct their representative [illegible] constitutional bodies, vote budgets, [illegible] legislation are representatives only for this place of legislature, they are not considered as their representatives.

[illegible] want [illegible] into temples enough [illegible] because it was said that the temple was pollute.)

MR. [illegible]: If you had merely sent that letter to the Revenue Commissioner, I would have taken the necessary action. It was clearly wrong on the part of the writer to have wanted to punished them. But why did the party write to you ?

MR. [illegible]: Because they thought that you have recognised me as their spokesman. (Laughter).

MR. [illegible]: You might have sent the letter to the Revenue Commissioner. Will you do it now ? The action of the writer is clearly wrong.

xxx

MR. [illegible]: The Archbishop and other prelates of the Church ~~have~~ The prelates have not yet been ~~punished~~ as yet.

MR. [illegible]: And first rate too. They were punished !

MR. [illegible]: Not yet punished.

MR. [illegible]: Gen. Orlando de Gavendarlar said very emphatically that Irishmen hardly knew how to die sane before. At the same time he talked "what is the need for so much pain in open terrace"

MR. [illegible]: The matter is not in that I said or that people outside have not been advertised of the conditions prevailed.

MR. [illegible]: I am thankful for the correction. I have gone to get a full and

temples and I have been told that [illegible] a large number of these temples [illegible] entry into the temple there. [illegible] before yesterday I had gone on [illegible] shuti ekadasi. The devotees [illegible] tem entry into the temple there. [illegible] God were taken out in procession. [illegible] Sankirtana went to the archana [illegible] that the God in procession might be taken on Harijan [illegible]. The one was taken [illegible] the Harijans received it. [illegible] gain in the fact that Harijans are a very spiritual and devoted people. [illegible] that they have not taken advantage of it. [illegible] cause of their poverty we cannot expect them to come from far off [illegible] places to visit the important temples. But it is a fact that there [illegible] Harijans/round about Calcutta who [illegible] in villages come to these temples to offer pooja. [illegible] some reform is obtained in [illegible] these temples, the status of being [illegible] will get also rise. I do not want to say anything more, but I will place before the house what Mr. Mukherjee has said in respect of this matter.

22.

"What is wanted to hold the [illegible] the Harijan or any [illegible] Harijan boy".

The whole question has [illegible] to begin it [illegible] a committee [illegible] on the [illegible] occasion. [illegible] not be justifiable [illegible] expressed that we should be excused [illegible] over it as [illegible]

and should not come into with those who do
enjoy higher social status. Therefore it is
for the Government or for His Highness to take
the initiative and declare that the Harijans
are entitled to the higher social and
life. I have seen many Maddars and
who are not as clean as Harijans, freely mixing
with Brahmins and going into the temples
certainly a blot of inconsistencies,
are test cases in that bundle of
As I said earlier, Hinduism
live here and now or ever. It is for
that we must realize it and keep it alive.
pass for the sake of the Landmark,
for those people who will not only
but live it. What is it that has
achieved in Travancore? It has been
of six years agitation
Proclamation. Later on, thousands
meetings, talks followed.
minded by the people of Travancore,
jees, but
Hindus, Christians, Muslims,all joined in
the reform was long overdue.

consent to this reform in Travancore, but he is
prepared to allow Harijans [illegible]
in Guruvayur temple up to a certain extent if
the law is changed. [illegible] whether it should
be initiated by the Government or by [illegible]
whether it is to be passed by the Legislature,
etc., is a question for the Government to decide

[illegible] question arises [illegible]
our [illegible] today" When the Travancore proclamation
[illegible] published, we find that it was [illegible]
opposed by Namboodiris on the one hand, orthodox
sections of high caste Hindus, [illegible]
Nayars [illegible] Ezhavas [illegible]
of these [illegible] Government [illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible] there is the question of [illegible]
[illegible] "Hindu [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible]
[illegible]

[illegible] legislative [illegible]

steps have been taken [illegible]

Bill and the leader of the [illegible]

going to take the initiative [illegible]

measure. Therefore, [illegible]

introduced in special [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[

to the very eloquent speeches made both in support of the motion as well as against it.

Mr. K.V.ANANTARAMAN (Nagpur Commissioner).— Sir, I must have listened
hon. Members of the House

spoke against the [illegible]
it would be better if [illegible]
efforts on other [illegible]
removal, such as [illegible]
multiple [illegible]
public [illegible]
differences [illegible]
the lowness [illegible]
referred to the [illegible]
were not really [illegible]
though they [illegible]
the [illegible]
suing election [illegible]
tion was [illegible]
view [illegible]
rect ion.

Mr. K. CHENGALARAYA REDDY.--No; it was withdrawn because the mover wanted a unanimous resolution.

Mr. K.V. ANANTARAMAN. - What I say is also a possible interpretation. However, let me go on.

[illegible]
India [illegible]
ed, the [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[

find throughout India is not conducted by workers so much as by their Savarna sympathisers. It is not clear from the discussions that have taken place in the Committee that there has been any demand on the part of Depressed classes in Mysore to enter temples of Savarnas in other communities. In Mysore, each community has its own temples, often times with its own particular form of worship, and it is not usual for members of one community or sect, even among Savarnas, to visit the temples belonging to another community. The Depressed classes have their own places of worship, their own methods of worship and their own priests. There has not been any real demand from Depressed classes for permission to enter temples where other communities worship.

On this vexed question of temple-entry there are two conflicting schools of thought, represented by on the one hand, the intelligentsia in the towns who are for democracy, equality and fraternity, and who want all communities to be allowed to enter temples. There is, on the other hand, the conservative school of thought which considers that if Avarnas enter the temples, there will be pollution and that accordingly worship cannot be conducted; [a compromise between these two schools of thought] does not seem to be a feasible proposition. The former view is based on sentiment and the latter on authority. The temples are places of worship and, strictly speaking, are consecrated and continued according to certain Agamas. The Agamas lay down that if worship is not conducted according to them the temples become polluted. In the latter event, the idol and the temple—stone or clay. The exclusion of Avarnas from temples is a statutory injunction. It is [illegible] people to give it up.

And this is generally in conformity with the position that was accepted on this side of the House when the subject came up for discussion on previous occasions, and nothing has supervened since then. No additional facts have been brought to notice which will justify a change in our position. It was no doubt been said that a change has been made by another State and that some gentleman somewhere in the Madras Presidency has given his opinion in favour of such change. It would have been interesting to know what propaganda has been carried out & what expression of opinion has been given in Mysore. My hon. Friend Mr. H.C. Dasappa said that the Vokkaligar community has absolutely no objection to admit Harijans into the Vokkaliga temples. I would remind him that it is a source of eternal trouble for us to persuade these elementary rights to Harijans. Therefore there is a change of heart amongst people to give it up. However, as I stated, there are two schools of thought on the main question, and a

argument against the supporters of the [illegible]
argument in their favour.

[illegible] There are about [illegible]
in the [illegible] which are now on [illegible]
of the Uzrai Degree. [illegible]
institutions are engaged [illegible]
[illegible]ance of [illegible] of [illegible]
provinces in the [illegible] [illegible]
only [illegible] get a [illegible]
[illegible] should be seen [illegible]
liable to [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] principally [illegible]
[illegible] the land [illegible]
generally [illegible], and [illegible]
tion and enquiry [illegible]
by the Indo [illegible]. [illegible]
[illegible] them unless [illegible]
conditions of the [illegible]. [illegible]
can enforce [illegible]
[illegible] the [illegible]
secretariat [illegible]
[illegible] of those in [illegible]
which [illegible] be [illegible]
of particular [illegible]
the [illegible]
suitable [illegible]

[illegible] Since [illegible]
[illegible] the [illegible]
in the [illegible]
[illegible].
[illegible]
[illegible]
to [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

large volume of o[illegible]osition to the reform th
observed when the matte[illegible] at
session of the representative [illegible]. Dasenna
stated that Harijan[illegible] e tenpl[illegible]
and Mutt at Chunchan[illegible] are in
favour of the refor[illegible] I need
only [illegible] that the[illegible] of -
such reforms is the attitude of [illegible] com unity.
The latter will not even [illegible]
out of tanks.

[illegible] In vie[illegible]
rosier attitude to [illegible]
to [illegible] be on [illegible]
change. Public o[illegible]
[illegible] not [illegible]
Legislation at [illegible]
for th[illegible] change is [illegible]
in rel[illegible] [illegible] obnoxio -
to the bulk o[illegible] unity i[illegible] lik[illegible] lead to
[illegible] [illegible] trouble.

Mr. H.C. DASAPPA: Sir, in the first place let me offer my sincerest thanks to my hon. friends Messrs D.V. Gundappa and S. . Varadachar for their whole-hearted support to the resolution. I do not mean to say that my welcome is less to those other hon. Members who have accorded their support for the simple reason that their views have been fairly pronounced unequivocally on this matter. My hon. friends Mr. L.V. Gundappa and Mr. Garuda Char who, when this subject was on the floor of the House last time,more than once were not absolutely sure of the immediate urgency of the problem, to-day I am glad to learn are prepared to consider the question sympathetically and have gone as far as to suggest the appointment of a committee for the purpose of inquiring into it . The only two other gentlemen who have not yet made up their minds are my distinguished friends Mr. V.K. Srenivasa Iyengar and the Muzrai Commissioner Mr. Anantaraman. I take it it is not so much my friend Mr. Anantaraman as the Muzrai Commissioner that made the speech yesterday. I am sure, at any rate it is ~~quite~~ possible, that his personal opinion may be quite different from those which he gave expression to yesterday ~~on the floor of the House~~. It would therefore be my honest endeavour to see ~~that~~ if I cannot persuade my friends like Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar and others of his persuasion and see if they will not be able to accord their support to what I call a happy compromise that my friend Mr. D.V. Gundappa suggested yesterday. In order to do that, in the

the first place, I would appeal to their heart and ask them to consider this problem with that broad liberal human sympathy which we expect of in the circumstances of a case like this. It is more the emphasis that is necessary in the case in order to come to a correct understanding of the problem. It is the perspective I insist upon, or rather that I appeal for, in this particular case. How best can we take a correct perspective of this problem? I think the one and the only way of taking a correct perspective of it is, to place ourselves in the position of Harijans and see how far we would be pleased or satisfied with the position that is accorded to them by the caste Hindus. I ask my friends the Nuzrai Commissioner and Mr. K.R. Sreenivasa Iyengar to kindly place themselves in the position of a Harijan and then say " Look here, I am quite satisfied with my lot as it is ". I take it that there can be only one answer if he approaches the subject from that standpoint and that is, that the need for raising their status is absolutely necessary and urgent also.

The next point that I would deal with is this, viz.,that so far as these problems are concerned, it is not a question of mere sentiment but it is also a question of long established custom or what in the Nuzrai language I suppose goes by the phrase phraseology ' mamool'. My answer to that point is two-fold. In the first place, if a mamool is there and if it is against public policy, if it stands as a permanent impediment to the progress of a community or a

a nation, that mamool must go. However desirable it may be from the point of view of authorities to take the line of least resistance, still if we consider that that mamool is objectionable from all standards of public morality, public and social standards of life, I think that that mamool has to go. I do not think even there there is anybody in this House who could justify mamool simply because it is mamool when it is opposed to public policy, to the fundamental principles of life, life where every citizen of the State can expect a fair and honourable treatment at the hands of the State and the society.

The second answer to that question of mamool is this, that so far as Mysore is concerned, we have not been always sticklers to mamool. There have been many occasions when, having regard to progressive public opinion, to the highest standards of morality and social and civic life, we have definitely and positively thrown mamool to the winds and adopted the proper standards of civic and political principles. May I just recall one such instance or two such? When 16 years ago the question of admission of Adikarnatakas into Government and aided educational institutions was considered, you remember very well, sir, in fact every one in the House will remember, what a storm of opposition there was in various orthdox quarters, sometimes or often, and even fairly unorthodox quarters of the time. But yet, when the famous Government order was announced making it obligatory on the part of educational institutions, whether Government or

oraided, to admit adikarnatakas into the institutions, I do not think the people in the State worked themselves into any kind of frenzy or exhibited any kind of temper which the Government could not easily control. True enough in just two or three places there were who are known as, I would call, national schools started. I cannot conceive anything more unnational than the action that they did. But yet they masqueraded under the grand name of national schools. They just ~~xxx~~ survived for some time some of them died and I suppose the others have now managed to reconcile themselves to the new position. I do not want to prolong instances. Even with regard to the other question of using public streets, I know for a matter of fact that our Government has adopted a very generous attitude ~~with reference to the use of public streets~~. And in many cases in which I had something to do possibly both for and against -- that happens to be my profession -- the Government ~~definitely~~ took a definite stand that they would not recognise the rights of any particular community against any other community from going in those streets in procession. That is the attitude, a perfectly generous and just attitude, which a progressive Government has to take and our Government has taken, so that the Government is, there also, never inclined to consider the question of mamool; that is because it is against public policy. I do not deny that in these cases that I referred to, the various communities -- the Brahmins, the Lingayats, the Vokkaligars and so on, have opposed the people

people of different sects not only Adikarnataka but also Panchalas, the Farmers, from taking going into public streets. But Government have defnitely said that they are not going to recognise such a thing like that. I do not think that Heavens have fallen. Even there was great opposition and everything is going on very well.

The third point that I wish to deal with is the question whether we are absolutely sure that the generality of people are in favour of giving this right to the Harijans. Certainly, sir, it is a question which I must answer and all those in favour of the resolution must answer. We do contend that the generality of people are behind this resolution. My friend Mr. M.A. Sreenivasa Iyengar was saying: "Here are some people coming from the Mysore City and the districts. What do these people know about the temper of the mass people? Can they speak with any authority on behalf of the various communities and so on?" Sir, my humble answer to this is that we do claim to represent them, and may I add in a way much better than any others could in this House. We are here, both elected and nominated. I take it that those of us who are here by election and have got our finger on the pulse of the people are not making here any wreckless, irresponsible, exaggerated or fanciful statements. We must feel the responsibility, the great responsibility, that lies underneath the proposition that we are considering. I would therefore request Hon. Friends like Mr. Sreenivasa Iyengar not to

cast in any way
to ~~cause~~ any kind of reflection on our representative ~~capacity~~ character. Far rather let the thing be judged on its own merits. In going a step further I would ~~xxx~~ even say ~~that~~ I would, if necessary give instances -- that popular feeling is veering round and has veered round considerably in favour of this question. My hon. friend Mr. Chengalaraya Reddy was questioned by the President with reference to the Vokkaligar community. True there have been places where some of the Vokkaligars might have displayed antipathy not necessarily against Harijans by any means but against other communities depending upon mamool. But, I tell you, sir, that in various places where the Government themselves have ordered against such ~~x~~ monopolistic tendencies on the part of Vokkaligars as against others, the Vokkaligars have thoroughly reconciled themselves to the situation. Take for instance the Kommerahalli question where I do not deny that the majority of those who opposed Harijans from taking water were Vokkaligars. But yet, when the Government ~~xxid~~ stood firm, the Vokkaligars reconciled themselves to the new position, and there was no trouble whatever. This shows that people are quite ready to reconcile themselves to any new position provided ~~xx~~ it is intrinsically just and righteous. In another big and major institution/ie. in the Chunchini fair which where a fair takes place and tens of thousands congregate every year, Harijans have absolutely free access to all parts. So also in the Siddaganga matt, if I am not mistaken, because I was present there myself at a big Vokkaligas conference took place and that

there also Harijans were admitted freely up to the precincts of the mutt. There was no difficulty whatever. I was also questioned whether the public have expressed themselves in favour of it. Of course, from 1919 onwards the Vokkaligas in the State have held at least 20 conferences and there is hardly a single conference where this proposition, removal of untouchability, has not been passed enthusiastically and unanimously. (Interruption) I write see ~~that the question of temple entry .....~~

~~Mr. D.T. RAJ GOPAL CHARI: Yes.~~

~~Mr. H.C. DASAPPA:~~ I am prepared to answer that point. ~~That~~ question was not prominently there. But the sympathy with Harijans was there, and I am sure that my Lingayat brethren will equally stand by this resolution when it is going to be accepted by the Government.

I do not think I should deal with many other points, because there are a great many points which I would like to traverse. But the beauty of it is that the great ideals to which our acharyas stood in the past are not followed by, let me say, their servants and devotees to-day. Mr. Bhashyam Iyengar, in one of the finest speeches I have had the pleasure of listening to last time when this question came up, said: " I am proud to belong to the sect the founder of which preached equality to all the people, one who made it a part of his programme to admit had Harijans into the particular sect, a sect which had recognised, among others, Harijan saints seers who deserved worship at the hands of

Always." Now, where are all those high ideals? Why is it that my friends should not live up to these high ideals and show generous attitude towards the Harijans? After all, as I said, it is more a question of the heart, the broad human sympathies and of reason, fair play and justice. It is these things which we must allow to play when questions relating to movements like this come up, and any other attitude would defeat the very object which we have in view.

Then, I would like to say that the Travancore Commissioner quoted some figures to show how many institutions there were, what amount of grants they were spending and all that kind of a thing. I do not know whether his object was to create a kind of red herring across the resolution to point out the magnitude of the problem before us. Last time when we said that in Madhura, Kerala and other States, the States themselves had thrown out temples to Harijans, it was pointed out to us that those temples were not according to agama sastras, worship in But here we, lower down the Hindus, we are the sole repositories of these ancient customs and we are trying to keep them absolutely unpolluted. I was thinking on that line to give my force in that argument all. Let us take the people up in the North or Kerala. I do not say better, as ourselves. I do not want to tell the Hindus or tell the Government that they permit Harijans to enter temples or not. That is not our attitude at all. The next thing force, such as this, whether it is right or not or, I think, whether it is [illegible] it has been used, without any kind of [illegible] sanction

that magnificent and historical Proclamation by His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore, to whom we pay our respectful and reverential homage. I wonder what these friends who advanced such argument as that have got to say now with reference to this latest pronouncement of Travancore. Now they say that in Travancore there are not people who understand sastras? Am I to take such argument from them? They have now resumed to put forward a plea like that and they dare not. It is not their contention that in Travancore they have not taken the trouble of getting sastraic support for the admission of harijans into the temples. Then, what is it that they say which permits of the throwing open of temples of Travancore but which at the same does not permit here? The question of any sastraic obstacle in the way of the reform therefore count for nothing. I am just wondering what else remains except a kind of stubbornness on the one hand, unmeaning superstition on the other hand, and shrivelled up heart on the other side? What is it that I may characterise the attitude of those who oppose this beneficent reform? I cannot find words in which I could congratulate those people who have stood against the reform. Not that I have no respect for their convictions but that I am afraid their opinions are due to the fact that they have not taken the trouble of a little calm introspection, of seeing through the immediate present to the far distant future to realise what havoc it has created in the body politic and the damage effected to the body politic in the course of the long years of degradation. I appeal to those who have not to

shake off ~~this screen~~ that exists between them and truth, between them and Justice between them and humanity, this screen of superstition, an argument was put forward that the world would get polluted if by the approach of ... Sir, if there is a God like that who would be polluted by the devotional feelings of his own children, is that God worth the name of God? Could there be such a God? (A voice: "Oh!") I again ask, could there be such a God at all. Can we imagine that there is a God like that? (Interruption) The argument put forward is so unmeaning and so opposed to all reason and logic that I think it is not worth an answer. I would therefore, even if it seems some kind of dissatisfaction to those friends of mine who want the reform urgently, even at the risk of incurring their dissatisfaction, support the suggestion of my friend Mr. ... that the Government may be pleased to immediately appoint a committee, a committee may I add not having weightage of orthodox elements by any means but a committee where there are fair proportion of reformers, of the orthodox elements and ~~those~~ those who are neither. Put them all in, let them go round the State not merely examining the wardships this (A voice: "Quite!") but taking also their opinion. The greatest calamity that might befall a nation or a country is to leave all affairs of state in the hands of the priests or soothsayers or astrologers. There a lot of havoc has been played in the past by trusting the administration of the State to the hands of some priest-craft, whether of one community or of another community. We

certain

got to maintain standard and therefore let us not and simply consider the methadhipathis as the last word on the subject. I am not in the least afraid of their opinions. I am prepared to argue before the madhadhip this myself if they might be able to listen to me. Let us take the view of all people, -- methadhipathis, non-methadhipathis, laymen and the scholars, and see if we cannot gather sufficient volume of opinion in favour of this question. If and when the Government thinks that there is a volume of public opinion against it, then, of course, I would not have the slightest objection to postpone the consideration of the measure. Sure enough in this good world there are people of diverse opinions. My learned Friend Mr. C.K. Sreenivasa Iyengar was saying " you must give respect to the views of the minority ". But times have come when the majorities have to be protected, when they have to be taken care of. Take for instance the question of public services. But that is a forbidden ground now. I cannot go into that question now. I will take another instance. My friends were referring to the magnanimous action of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore for admitting Harijans to his durbar. Mysore is usually the first in so many reforms. But when it comes to the question of progress, other people steal a march over us. That is what Mr. Chandrasekhara Sastry said. We have to grudge other people stealing a march over because we have stayed behind. There is no simple answer. Take for instance the case of the representative assembly. They have started much earlier than most others

~~in~~ els where. But yet we are in the b c round. We have stood where we were. Take ain the question of harijans ~~themselves~~ we were the first, I think, to pass the G.O. admitting harijans to Government aided educational institutions and yet ~~we~~ where do we stand now? ~~Though we were the first to take the first step,~~ we have lagged behind other people and they have certainly marched ahead of us. The pity of it is -- it is somewhat disappointing -- that having start d well, we do not keep up the pace equally well. All that I am appealing for to-day is that we must keep up progress And I think that if the Government accepts the suggestion of my friend r. . V. Gundappa, we will have taken a step in the right direction. I ould beg of my friends Mr. Anantar an and Sreenivasa Iyen ar to at least ~~the~~ support the modest proposition of Mr. . . Gundappa.

Mr. M.L. BHAGAVA AIYANGAR: Sir, may I rise to support the suggestion of my friend Mr. B.V. Gundappa? I do not think there is large difference of opinion either so far as the appointment of a committee is concerned, because I find that even those who could not readily agree to the question of throwing open temples for Harijans to enter are quite willing that the matter be considered by an independant committee. I find on the one side people asserting that the time has come when the generality of people in the State are willing to allow Harijans to enter temples. On the other side I find an assertion made with equal vehemance that the people are not really so generous yet. When you have got one fact asserted by the one side and denied by the other, the proper natural thing would be to have the matter considered by a committee and if necessary enquiring and taking evidence on the point. I think that would be satisfactory to all the parties concerned. And as I find the learned Huzrai Commissioner yesterday stating that if the people were quite willing to allow Harijens to enter temples, then there would not be any objection from the point of view of the Government, I think it is very necessary that a committee should find out whether the people are really ready or not to allow Harijens to enter the temples. The whole trouble now arises because you have got the power of legislation and you are enforcing to-day in the name of a custom which originated long ago and which been in existence or is supposed to be in existence in the country. That gives a ri

great man like him must be, I think, acceptable by all. I do not find either that people are protesting for themselves. What they say is this: " Personally I have no objection for them to enter. But the country is not ready ", Throwing the blame on the country is no good. Because, in the first place, the country is not really so ungenerous and in the second place it is not a proper argument to advance. If the Government were to say that they are not prepared to do anything which would displease the people, I can only say that it is not a very strong argument for them at any rate. It may be so for us. But so far as the Government is concerned, I do not think they can say that all that they can do is always very pleasing to the people. Often times they do things which are not at all to the pleasure of the people. So that what we have got to consider is the good of the people, of the country at large. In the name of being a trustee, you take shelter under this old custom and say " We shall not allow". No , what are you a trustee of? You are not a trustee of the old traditions only. You are a trustee of Hinduism which is part and parcel of the temple itself. When the donor built the temple and gave it over to the public, he did not mean that you should safeguard the temple only. But you should safeguard Hinduism too. And if Hinduism demands for its purification a change, you have to make the change accordingly. In the name of trustee, you cannot prevent progress in this matter. I would put it. You must prevent decay by not insisting upon those

these old traditions still subsisting when the people do not want them. It is quite true that, as Diwan Bahadur Sreenivasa Iyengar said reform must come from within. That is why we are asking you to make this reform. You and I are all within the fold. We are all one in the country. We are not asking an outsider to frame a law for us. We are asking that we in our own community, in our own State, should put our heads together and purify the society. You might remember that as far back as 1927 in addressing the Representative Assembly you spoke on this aspect and you very aptly referred to the rankling injustice under which Harijans are suffering. These are your words:

> " These people ought to be strength of our strength; shall we let them become our weakness? They have a rankling sense of wrong which only sinceness can heal. The aim should be to 'Hindoise' them more and more -- for they belong to the Hindu community really -- and to offer them every facility to remain within the fold..... "

What more facility can you give them than to allow them to enter the temples and worship the God? I am free to confess at once that so far as this question is concerned, I should not have laid very much value on this, because there is an old saying: " Nearer the temple, the further from God." If we, after all these years of entering into temples, could still tell the people that we alone are to be there and nobody else to come, then the temple has not functioned properly or we have not adjusted ourselves to the atmosphere of the temple. And if these people who have been kept out of the temple for ages

ages and ages ~~am~~ x still ~~be~~ years after our which is denied to them, when it is so well open for us to say that keeping the out of the temple has not in a whit lessened their spirurality. We can say that. But the only of view which we look at ix this is his. That is merely a gesture on our part to purify ourselves and there I am answering the learned Harijan Commissioner when he said that this criticism curiously enough comes from the savarnas and not from the avarnas. As a matter of fact, the Harijans have been asking for it and I learn that at the Harijan conferences they have been pressing for this reform. But granting for a moment that Harijans have not asked for it in so unequivocal, so vehement and positive manner, and granting also for the moment that we, the savarnas alone, asked for it, I still justify it in the name of Hinduism -- I consider that keeping out Harijans is a sin which we are committing from which we want to cleanse ourselves. We want that this impurity in our blood removed and the only way in which we can remove it is to-day by legislation. Mind, moreover, even if all of us made up our minds that we should allow Harijans to enter temples, even if there is one man who says that he shall not allow them, he can drag all of us to a court of law and say: "The assault is that he shall not enter." The people who are out to call in legislation reformers may allow them to come in but, to me, Hinduism is at stake. The old method is not removal. If we succeed in administering the last rites to untouchability, the helpless Harijan will find that

is that we come to you for legislation in this matter. In fact, that is the only way. I therefore consider that this is a matter in which the Government should translate their sympathy into action by appointing a committee. I know very well that all these years whenever we approached you on this question you have always expressed the greatest sympathy and always felt very great confidence in what you ~~said~~ say. To-day I am asking you not merely to express ~~kraunkaxa~~ that sympathy but to translate it into action by appointing a committee which is desirable from all points of view and which is not opposed by anybody so far as I could see. I therefore very strongly appeal to you that a committee be appointed and further action taken on their report.

Mr. P.L. SILVA: Sir, yesterday in explaining the benevolent attitude adopted by the Government in regard to the question of temple entry, the hon. Muzrai Commissioner to Government put forward a few suggestions. One is that greater amount of propaganda is necessary to educate the public, and the second is that private temples must first be thrown open to untouchables. As regards the first, I venture to say that during our life time there has hardly been a question over which there has been a greater amount of propaganda. In fact there has been so much of propaganda from one end of the country to the other that the subject has become rather old. And a further measure of propaganda would probably be irritating rather than useful. As regards the other suggestion that private temples should first be thrown open to Harijans, it strikes me that it is asking a little too much. The object with which a private temple is erected is to reserve it for the use of a particular family or group of people. If such temples are thrown open to the public, they will not only probably lose their private character but they will very soon be regarded as public property. The real difficulty of the Muzrai Commissioner seems to me to be this. He said that all Muzrai temples are not equally under the control of Government and that even if the Government had the will, they had not the power to take a decisive step. That seems to me to be a very valid ground which the framers of the new solution can take due note of. At the same time it seems to me that that suggests that there is a

a middle course. I venture to ask the hon. Member whether, instead of adopting a non-committal attitude, he has explored the possibility of considering whether there are not some topics over which Government have got an adequate amount of control at least in those areas in which public feeling seems to be in favour of such course. To one who can take a detached view of this question, it seems to be the right step to be taken. If at least a dozen topics can be known open in the first instance, that will be an indication that Government are in sympathy with the reforms. And once when an earnest beginning is made, it will not be long before further progress becomes possible.

My hon. friend Mr. M.V. Gundappa suggests the appointment of a committee. I should have thought that that is the proverbial recipe of getting rid of an inconvenient problem. But, since my hon. friend Mr. K.C. Neogy has no objection to it, it is not for me to suggest anything against such a proposal.

Mr. H.G. Deshpande: But by some committees you know?.....

Mr. K.L. Gauba: I can only trust that a round table conference (of which representatives of the Government, members of the Legislatures and Governments, will all meet together with a view to arrive at some understanding with regard to the questions on which there could be honest differences. After all, these are fighting for some principle, and the principle once needed is certainly thing to

that they will be satisfied. If, unfortunately, there are a few temples -- I only trust their number will be small -- in the case of which it may be necessary to make an exemption, I commend this suggestion to the mover of the resolution. Instead of asking that all muzrai temples be immediately thrown open to all, the resolution be so amended as to suggest that those temples over which Government have adequate control may be immediately thrown open and that in respect of others a round table conference be convened with view to consider which of them could be thrown open.

There is one word in the resolution which has perhaps crept in as a result of mistake. In the last line the word used is " observations ". I think it must be " observances. "

C.S.In.
27-1-37.
2nd Batch.

(In this & other batches of M.C.C. the name of the K.T.P. is spelt with double "t" throughout)

MR. T.G. [illegible]:- Sir, with your permission I shall present the practical aspects of this question as they strike a District Officer entrusted with the responsibility of carrying out this resolution if it is passed. Before I deal with the question, I request permission to [illegible] apprehension about the subject. [illegible] communities in the whole of Malabar that were pleaded for temple entry and that have been given the privilege have been enjoying that privilege in Mysore for centuries. The large majority of communities that are awaiting for temple entry in the whole of Malabar and to whom the privilege is now being given are the Izhavas who correspond to our Idigas, the Asaris who correspond to our Badagis, and the Vollans who correspond to our Kammaras, and others too numerous to mention. I hope the [illegible], who is as well aware of the [illegible] ethnology of Malabar as I am, will bring out to me out that many communities [illegible] waiting for temple entry in Malabar for centuries -- some of whom have been given that privilege to-day -- have been enjoying that privilege in Mysore for centuries.

After clearing up this [illegible], which perhaps has lead many of my friends to feel that we are more sinned enough in other respects, but that in this particular respect we have been sinners, shall now proceed to refer to the practical side of the resolution, that is [illegible]

It is my painful duty to differ from the impression conveyed by my hon.friends in this House that the communities who are likely to be affected by this resolution are so heartily in favour of the reform. My experience as a District Officer has been otherwise. I too was under this impression for a very long time until I moved very closely with the influential majority of members in many of the important villages. I shall explain myself by referring to a couple of instances which are within my personal knowledge. A well-known worker in the cause of Harijans in this state took me to a village in order to intercede on behalf of the Harijans in respect of a marriage procession which had pass through a Vokaliga street. I accompanied him and did my very best to plead with the Vokaligars, but they were adamant. What I did next was to advise the Adikarnatakas not to incur the permanent displeasure and consequent recrimcussions of an influential community, but to go by a by-path. But even that by-path had to pass through a small street containing a few Vokaliga houses. Since even that was not agreed to, we were on the point of giving a license and police protection. But all our efforts were frustrated by the Vokaligars dragging the Harijans to a civil court and asking for a civil injunction so that the Harijans regretted having asked for permission, because of the long-drawn civil litigation that followed. That is one instance of the extent of willingness to allow Harijans to use public streets on the part of a community which is said to be giving whole-hearted support

to this resolution. I shall re
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that the whole village community
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tanks, wells and schools, I fear that the impression conveyed to the house that these communities are very ready to support the question of temple entry is an incorrect one. It is my painful duty therefore to contradict the impression given by many hon. friends in this House. If instead of giving an impression that these communities are all whole-heartedly behind the call for temple entry, friends had only mentioned instances of half a dozen villages within the sphere of their influence in which they feel that all the communities are prepared to use a common well and to worship in a common temple, it would have been more preferable. I think it would be a great unkindness to invite Adikarnatakas to visit temples where it is not safe for them to enter.

MR. V. VENKATAPPA:- (Speaking in Kannada) Sir, the Muzrai Commissioner has spoken on behalf of the Government and the Deputy Commissioner of the Mysore District (i.e. Mr. Rama Iyer) have made statements which give us ~~the~~ an indication of the possible attitude of the Government themselves. We are pained to find such an attitude on their part. Mr. Rama Iyer referred to certain matters pertaining to the question of marriage processions and drinking water wells. I am ~~not~~ prepared to say at once that they are ~~all~~ incorrect statements. At the same time I cannot say that because of the instances he quoted we should not throw open temples to Harijans. There are some difficulties in the villages so far as Harijans are concerned. I am not unaware of that fact. ~~But~~ have the Government tried to ascertain the root cause of such difficulties? They have not; and that is the main reason why the grievances have not been remedied. I am not sure that Government know the actual state of affairs in the villages. If they do, they will find ~~that~~ the Adikarnatakas are getting drinking water without any difficulty. In fact in the upper part of one ~~and~~ the same tank a Paraya drinks water and below ~~the~~ a Vokaliga does it, and yet ~~there~~ the Vokaligas are not objecting to it. If some-one comes and sets up the Vokaligas at once there is trouble. As to the question whether Vokaligas are prepared to take Harijans into their midst on occasions, I may say that we are also,

Mr. S.C. Malliah has admitted ~~[illegible]~~ in the Vokaliga hostel of which he is the Chief. Mr. Malliah has not been ex-communicated on that account. That shows the attitude of the Vokaligars. I shall give another instance. Since 1913 up till now the people are in the habit of feeding the boys coming from the mofussils for sitting in the Lower Secondary Middle School examination. On one occassion a Halepaika Brahmin sat with the others for food. All the others objected to it criticised. He said "This is all the place available. If you want you may eat, otherwise not". Now we did not find another place at all. Recently in the place in which Non-Brahmins sit for food, a few untouchables also came and sat. There was no trouble. He said on this occasion also that that was all the place available and that Harijans also were students like as others and that we cannot say that we would not feed them. We said that they were free to take food if they chose and to go away if not. Now there is no kind of protest at all. Mr. Rama Iyer referred to processions in which the Harijan bride-groom was not allowed to sit on horse-back, and said there was trouble from Vokaligas. It is necessary to remember in this connection that trouble arises on all such occasions only if there are people to create trouble. All trouble vanishes if all the influential men who are there do things accordingly to reason.

I [illegible] ~~In fact~~

In fact whenever I have foreseen or ~~seen~~ any such occasions, I have furnished advance information to the local Officers concerned for dealing with the persons concerned. Round about Cochin in many villages, I have myself arranged processions in which Harijan bridegrooms have sat on horse-back. Again, Harijans could not do likewise; in fact they could not even celebrate marriage any where within the town. They ought to go outside and celebrate their marriages. Now they can do it within the town. People are now saying; "If these marriages take place within the town, we will be invited and we get at least thamboolam, if not a dinner. Why therefore do it?"

Referring to the Travancore Proclamation, Diwan Bahadur K.R. Srinivasa Iyengar said that the Proclamation is very unpopular throughout the Travancore State and that people there are very much disappointed and dissatisfied with it. He also added that if people there have said nothing against the Proclamation, it is because of their loyalty to their Ruler or some other cause. Let me grant it for the time being. But may I not ask whether in British India certain people are affraid of the Travancore Ruler and whether they also owe loyalty to the Maharaja of Travancore? We are hearing that many meetings are held and the Travancore Maharaja thanked for having issued the Proclamation. Have we ever heard of an equal number of conferences in the

this

that Proclamation has been criticised is all very easy to say that public opinion is not yet in favour of this reform. But I ask you how do you judge public opinion? One in a hundred may be opposed to this Proclamation. I dare say that all the other 99 support it. Do you say, then, that public opinion is opposed to it? The Chief Commissioner said yesterday that in the Representative Assembly a resolution on this question had to be withdrawn for want of adequate support. I am sorry that statement does not represent the true state of affiars. When I spoke in the Assembly, the House had not risen for lunch. I said: "It is not necessary to make speeches. All hon. Members of this House seem to be agreed on this question. Once before this, when the same question had come up in some other form, the House has expressed itself in favour of it. Even now, I think, the House is not opposed to this question." The House adjourned for lunch. Curiously enough, when the Assembly met again after lunch, things seemed to have changed altogether. Evidently there was some mysterious force at work in the meanwhile. The members of the House were not responsible for the change.

Apart from all these, I do not understand why the Government should be so particular about public opinion before action is taken as suggested. Are the Government sure of public support in all that they do?

necessary and we will introduce it. If there is trouble, we shall overcome it. Why help the Harijans?

My hon. friend Mr. Lasappa referred a case in which there was trouble from few Vokkaligars to Harijans taking water from a well. Did not that trouble disappear once the Government took a firm stand? It was suggested that despite orders of Government, Harijan boys are not freely admitted into public schools. I should think, for that the Government officers are themselves responsible. Local officers must enforce the orders of Government but the trouble is that they do not do it. There are some teachers also who indulge threats and intimidation towards the caste people who are easily set up when such things happen. I should think that wherever officers are able to give effect to the orders, things are taking place quite smoothly. It is only in other cases that there is trouble. Similarly on this question also, the Havens are not going to fall if Government accept the resolution and do their best to bring it into effect. At a time like this when everywhere in the country opinion is expressing in favour of this reform, Government ought not to hesitate. It is no argument that Harijans themselves are not anxious to get this privilege and therefore others need not bother on their behalf. [illegible]

ban there may be on them. Secondly, we, ~~the~~ caste Hindus, have committed a sin towards the Harijans. Mahatma Gandhi ~~Mr. Maitlah Gowda~~ has said it and he has also said that it is our duty to purge Hindaism of this sin. I may perhaps quote in this connection a story. Swami Vivekananda it is said, was going in a forest. When he felt thirsty, he did not find water anywhere, but with a Chandala. The Swami asked him for water. He said "I am a Chandala. You cannot drink water which I give." The Swami went away, but again came back and said, "there is no real difference between us. You give me the water." He took it and drank it. So even if ~~the~~ Harijans do not ask for this reform we must ourselves recognise their claims, ~~ourselves~~ and see that they are brought into a line with others. We are suffering for our past sins and we must do our best to atone for the sins. If the Harijans are able to come forward and press their claims, what is there for us to give? It is their right, and they will simply snatch it from us. Will it be graceful on our part to wait for such a day and then give them their rights? The ~~The~~ Hindu community is known for its goodness, generosity and liberal outlook. It is for us to deserve all those attributes being members of that community. In Mysore State particularly, Harijans have received special attention and help in a measure unknown to Harijans elsewhere. Any

Such a State ought not to waver or delay any longer in regard to the question of its entry. As far as possible we must expedite action. I have very high hopes that the Government would show a liberal attitude with regard to this resolution. I am sorry it has not been so. If they do not agree with the appointment of a committee as suggested by some of the speakers, then we shall have very pleasant to say about our Government. If this reform is delayed any longer in our State, it is the Government and not the people that will be held responsible for it.

THE FIRST MEMBER OF COUNCIL (Rajamantra-pravina S.P. Rajagopalachari).- A suggestion has been made, as part of a solution of this problem, that instead of throwing open the existing temples to all classes it would be better if new temples are constructed which would be open to all. How does that suggestion appeal itself to the House ?

MR. V. VENKATAPPA.- We shall never agree to such a thing.

MR. K.T. BHASHYAM AYYANGAR.- For God's sake, let us ~~not~~ have no more new temples.

MR. S.P. RAJAGOPALACHARI.- Please do not be cock-sure about any matters. These are matters which have got to be ~~charitably~~ seriously considered from all aspects. I would like to have the considered opinion of ~~the~~ hon. Members here with regard to that suggestion.

MR. D.S. MELLAPPA.- The remedy suggested will be worse than the ~~disease~~ disease.

MR. K.T. BHASHYAM AYYANGAR.- The existing temples are giving us sufficient trouble. What do you want more ?

MR. S.P. RAJAGOPALACHARI.- That is a superficial view of the matter. I should like to have a fully considered view from Mr. Venkatappa.

MR. V. VENKATAPPA.- On that question we have ascertained the feeling in the villages already. We do not believe that any great benefit will accrue from such a thing. We may after all be only adding to the trouble by creating another party or caste, increasing the

Avarnas and a few Savarnas, and that will not be solving the problem.

Sir, It is regrettable that Harijans are kept so low in the social scale. We have represented their cause oftentimes. We should not say that temples will be polluted if Harijans enter ~~it~~ them. Pandit Madan Mohan Malavya, than whom there is no ~~better Hindu, has~~ more learned or orthodox Hindu, has repeatedly said that pollution is not supported by reasons. He has also said that Agamas are changed from time to time — and that it is Vedas alone that are never modified, so that there will not be much force in our saying that, simply because Agamas do not permit of it, we should not allow Harijans into ~~the~~ temples.

It was suggested that we must do propaganda enough in the country in favour of this reform. I could say that on no other question ~~were~~ has so much propaganda been done in our State as on the question of temple entry. Everywhere people have been supporting the reform in one voice. Of course here and ~~there~~ there a few dissenting voice may be heard ~~that~~ but they are not general. I request Government to accept this resolution and take all steps necessary to give effect to it as soon as possible.

Rajacharita Visarada Rao Rao Sahib C. HAYAVADANA RAO.-Sir, may I say a few words on this question? The subject under discussion, it must be admitted, goes deep into the religious and social history of this land. It would not do for us to forget that it has a religious aspect as much as a social aspect. An hon. Gentleman speaking yesterday suggested that it is a subject of social justice. I think he forgot entirely - the religious aspect. Men are moved, in fact, swayed by religious impulses more than by anything else. They would not lose, as somebody said, a Kingdom of the future. It is not right that we think that in the last resort, as the hon. Member that preceded me just a minute ago suggested, the Government has only to say 'Yes' and everybody will obey. In how many instances has that been done? That question has to be answered also. The implications of a statute of that nature are manifold. It will not do in a matter which is both religious and social in its constituent character to deny that people will have a say in the matter. The whole question centres round this: "what is the opinion of the people or the generality of the masses? How will they react to a measure like this, even if it is by a fiat of Government carried through?" That is the - question. We are all converts to the view which is heard everywhere now. I do not think a single member here is against it, even including the hon Diwan Bahadur K.R. Srinivasa Iyengar whose views have been misrepresented here to a very large extent. I do not think he is meaning himself as an opponent of this measure. Certainly not. He is

is much above that, much beyond that. But what is the opinion of the masses to whom my hon. Friend Mr. Ramachandra Rao Pindia referred to yesterday? What will be their reaction? If a fiat is to be issued that all temples be opened for Harijans tomorrow, subject to certain rules and regulations as propounded in the resolution, what will be the reaction of the people? That is the question When the hon. the First Member of Council suggested a moment ago "why not try new temples?" immediately the answer came "Nobody wants it". One hon. Friend suggested he did not want any more temples. Certainly he must have got the authority of Aristotle behind him "..... ....." But that is not the view even of Aristotle except in an ironical sense. I do not believe that he meant what he said. I do not think that intellectually he saw it otherwise than as we see it today: temples will not be temples if they are opened to everybody. Another hon. Member this morning suggested that even God must have a chance of recreating the world, only he has disarmed himself. That is not the question at all. The whole question centres round what will be the reaction of large masses of the people who are swayed by small impulses of the type to which the hon. Muzrai Commissioner and my hon. Friend Mr. T. G. Rama Iyer referred. When we know so much about small things, like the use of public roads which the Magistracy should specially allow and for which the Police should give special protection, need we say much about admission to temples? It is a matter of very great importance. We should understand the realities of the situation

before we propound remedies of assumed easiness with which we seek to handle these questions. It is necessary for us to remember that not everything that is done in one State can be done in another State. All honour to that great State of Travancore. We shall not question it. We shall not ask anything from that example, because local conditions might be different. There may be very cogent reasons why such a Proclamation was issued in Travancore. What might have been the preparation there in regard to social and religious conditions, we do not know. And I do not think the last word on the Proclamation has been said, specially as to - causes of it. It is too much for us to presume the possibilities of the reasons. It is well for us to pass on. It is necessary that we should think what is necessary in this State. What is it that we can do in order to translate this suggested view, which is so full of promise, probably into action? That is the question of questions. It is true, also, that there is a certain amount of public opinion in favour of it. But is it all focussed in favour of the measure? Or even against it? How much if it is against it? We cannot say that those who have already spoken on this subject have done as much of missionary work in the village as we seem to have done in the Legislative Council during the last session and this.....

Mr. V. O. K'TAPPA.-No, no; we have certainly done more propaganda outside.

Mr. C. TAVADA'A RAO.-My friend wants to contradict

contradict me but he cannot succeed in doing it. If he had ascertained the public pulse, he would not have said that if only there is a fiat of the Government, everybody will obey. That is a statement with which, I hope, he will have to keep company for some more years at any rate.

Mr. T. RAMACHANDRA.-Even then, the Government Order will be there and it will gain effect in course of time.

Mr. C. MAYAVARAM RAO.-Yes, yes; only it may be an order which you may not relish.

It does seem to me that it was not very happily put by my friend Mr. Dasappa when he made a very clever but exceedingly untenable suggestion that when there is opposition from the minority, the bare majority has got to be protected. Is that really so? I challenge my friend, after this last sitting of this House, to go on the ticket of Temple Entry Legislation and see whether he can get elected to the next Council.

Mr. H. C. DASAPPA.-Most willingly.

Mr. C. MAYAVARAM RAO.-I shall await with interest the action which my friend proposes to take in regard to that matter. In the meanwhile, my friend must wait too. For, my friend has not come here on the mandate of his constituency to press this question of Temple Entry, nor has he promised his constituency that he is going to plead for this cause and that he will stand by it. If he had come here on such a ticket and if, similarly, all the hon. Members who spoke in favour

~~spoke in favour~~ of this question and spoke in a manner so 'cock-sure'--as the hon. the First Member of Council put it--had also come on that ticket, I could understand their attitude. But is that so? ~~xxxx~~ Was this question so prominently before the public when these hon. Friends got into this Council? ~~Did~~ their election ~~xx~~ right take place on this footing?

Mr. PRESIDENT.-Your hon.Friends might well apply the same principle to you and ask 'what right have you to oppose the question?'

Mr. C. RAYAVDA RAO.-That is a point of view I appreciate very well. In matters like this, it is very necessary ~~xxxx~~ for the Government to have the largest amount of responsibility. That must be conceded. The resolution itself suggests a series of actions which, I think, require absolutely impartial consideration and investigation. Let us see the variety of clauses the hon. Movers have put into the resolution: "to permit Adi-karnatakas, Adi-dravidas and other untouchable classes.....to enter temples;" ~~xxxxx~~ "temples under the management of the ....."uzrai Department;" ..."subject to .....rules and conditions;".for"preserving the proper atmosphere;" These are all so conditionally worded that a thorough investiation oi every one o. the aspects oi the question is absolutely necessary. Government cannot go upon the basis that everything is all right and they can simply issue a fiat or Proclamation.

I thi k the idea of a committee is a

favourable

favourable one from the point of view of the generosity of the people. That is a suggestion which I like very much to be considered. But then, I may say, the time is fast approaching in the country when questions of semi-religious and semi-social character come up frequently for consideration. Enlightened people who form the majority of members of this House must consider what is the best way of getting the largest consensus of opinion in matters of this nature before they are brought before the Legislature. That is a very important question. Such questions have cropped up in England and they have come to certain conclusions. Especially in the extreme west of Europe and in other places, they have taken stock of these difficult questions which frequently come up before the Houses of Parliament for discussion. Parliament is not the best place, any more than this Legislative Council can be the best place, for discussing questions of a semi-religious nature, and it is best they are debated upon elsewhere. What they have done there is to have assemblies--the Church of England, particularly, did it only 15 years ago, by virtue of what is called the Church of England Assembly Act under which all the people who adhere to it are brought together and divided into particular heads; they debate these questions and pass resolutions which are thereafter brought up before the Houses of Parliament. If both the Houses pass it, Royal Assent is obtained. We here are fast approaching a stage at which questions of a semi-religious nature should be relegated to different assemblies which can legitimately discuss them. These are questions in which the much abused

Moulvis and the much-abused Matadhipathies should have a voice, as also the laity who form the congregation. They must all debate and come to unanimous resolutions and then bring up the questions before the Legislatures, and if they are passed, then the Royal Assent might be given. We are coming to a stage at which some such solution of social and religious difficulties must be attempted. It is true that we have not got such a mechanism here as they have in England and elsewhere. It is but right that we have a via media by which such questions are disposed of here. It is not a mere resolution passed by a few straw individuals that counts. It is obvious that a committee of this House cannot do justice to a question like this. And we have not got an assembly of the kind in fact suggested. So it is that a committee of a larger number of people who will be persons not belonging to this House only--a composite committee with a majority of representatives of the community to which this question belongs--should be appointed, evidence taken and conclusions arrived at. If questions deserve solutions, it would not do for us to relegate them to the limbo of oblivion. Such questions are never lost sight of: they will come up again and again. We cannot also forget that they await solution of the right type. Of course, any solution suggested must carry the weight of the authority of the State; it should also carry the weight of the authority of the Legislature; and, more than both of these, the weight of the authority of public opinion. Elicit public opinion--that is the question that is now before us. Or can that,

the best thing is to appoint a committe which will go into this matter and consider it from every point of view- both the Government point of view and the point of view of the general public.

Sir, I will not take more time. I thank all my hon. Friends for listening to me so long.

Mr. [illegible].-You mean for interrupting you so often?

Mr. C. [illegible] RAO.-For that also. Interruptions, well meant and well directed, add to the freshness and usefulness of the debate.

Mr. H. SIDDAIYA.- ir, as a measure of compromise regarding this resolution, various suggestions have been made onthe floor of this House yesterday and today. One suggestion has come from the First Member of Council himself. That suggestion is that when new temples come into existance, they will be thrown open to Adi-karnatakas and others. An eminent educationist suggested just the other day that there is no need for more temples xxxx in the country. That is one thing. Secondly, even the existing temples in several parts of the country are in ruins. So many beautiful and huge temples - require immediate repairs but there is no money. Thirdly, so much money which would have to be spent to the construction of the new temples may be more usefully spent in constructing village schools which will provide education for the future citizens of the state. Another suggestion has been the appointment of a committee to go into the details of this question of Temple Entry and to ascertain public opinion. I feel, and I hope I am correct in saying, that we need not go so far, because so much time and money need not be wasted on the deliberations of such a committee for the simple reason that so much propaganda has been going on throughout the country for the last one decade and more.

While on this question I may perhaps invite the attention of this hon. House to a certain chandrappa's question No.113 which has been answered by the Government. The question is whether it has come to the notice of Government that appeals are made

made in the public platform and the press both in and outside the State requesting that Government be pleased to throw open the Hindu temples under their management to the worship of the Harijans. And the answer given by the First Member of Council on behalf of the Government is "Yes." So many representations are made and it is within the knowledge of the Government that the country is prepared to welcome such a measure as this. Hon. Members who have opposed it here both yesterday and today have confined themselves mostly to the authority of Sastras. But Sastras were written in some Dark Age when there was so much illiteracy among the people who were not at all consulted by the persons who wrote the Sastras as well as the Puranas. It is also said that the so-called Pandits who wrote these Sastras and Puranas wrote them just to suit their own convenience. Having so much of value to such Sastras and Puranas will not be necessary or safe. New ideas are developing now. There was a time--even a decade ago before schools were thrown open to Harijans--when the mere touch of an Adi-Karnataka was expected to pollute caste Hindus. Those notions are wiped off now. Public opinion is in favour of this resolution. There is no necessity even for the appointment of a committee. I think it is time that this resolution was accepted by the Government in order to bring about equality and fraternity in the Hindu society.

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y. Turn (CSR)

The FIRST MEMBER (Rajamantrapravina P.R. Rajagopalachari).- Sir, we have had a very full discussion on this matter, and I think it is time that I intervened to represent the views of the Government. The Muzrai Commissioner has very fully and comprehensively dealt with the implications of the resolution which has been moved by the hon. Member and I do not think it is necessary for me to make any lengt observations. I shall therefore confine myself to a few points of general interest which have been raised in the course of the discussions.

In the first place, I would like to emphasise the ~~xxxxx~~ well-known fact that the Government of Mysore have always encouraged the depressed classes in every way with a view to raise their moral and material standards of life, and they have undertaken a series of measures to promote their economic and educational well-being. I do not wish to refer to them at any length now, ~~and~~ but I mention this merely to show that Government actively sympathise with the aspirations of the Harijans to ~~raise~~ raise themselves socially and become valued members of the ~~xxx~~ Hindu community to which they belong. I may also refer in this connection to the recent gracious order of His Highness admitting members of the depressed classes to the Durbars and it has been referred to in terms of grateful appreciation by many of the members. This measure reflects the importance attached to the question of the general uplift of Harijans and will probably have more valuable and far-reaching consequences in raising the level of the Harijans in the social scale than any other

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was made by the Muzrai Commissioner.— I may assure the House that I do not raise this very

measure. The question of temple entry, however, stands on a different footing from the other questions affecting the general advancement of the Harijan community. It affects them, of course, vitally, but it also affects other sections of the Hindu community who are deeply interested in the preservation of ancient rituals and religious significance of these temples. And I think all the members will admit that Government have a responsibility not merely towards the Harijans, but also towards other communities ~~as well~~. This is particularly so in a matter which concerns with the religious beliefs of ~~xxxx

House, in view of the reasons assigned by me, Government cannot accept it as it stands.

MR. P. SUBBARAMA CHETTY: If the Government will at least give an assurance that they will consider the question of appointing a committee it will be something. As it is, they are not committing themselves even to it.

MR. S.P. RAJAGOPALACHARI: I am not going to add anything ~~more~~ to what I have already said. ~~Government will examine the suggestion.~~

MR. P. SUBBARAMA CHETTY: Sir, I beg to say that in case Government are ~~xxx~~ going to give the promise that they will ~~are going to~~ consider the question of the formation of a committee sympathetically, then I can withdraw the proposition. In case the Government have nothing more to add to what the First Member of Council has said, I have a few words to say by way of reply. I am glad that I see no opposition in this House by the members except one or two. So far as non-official side is concerned, I have not heard even one speech against the resolution.

MR. S.P. RAJAGOPALACHARI: Is not Mr. Nayavadana Rao a non-official member ?

MR. ~~S.P. RAJAGOPALACHARI~~ P. Subbarama Chetty: Even he is not against the formation of the committee. On the other hand, he was in favour of the suggestion of Mr. Gundappa that a committee be formed to go into the details. I thank Mr. Garudachar and also Mr. D. . Gundappa and others for the very

sympathetic attitude that they have taken on this this question. Mr. Gundappa D.V. suggested the formation of a committee so that all these matters may be referred to it for being examined. ~~But I go even to~~ the extent of ~~saying that~~ Even in the State of Travancore, before the Proclamation of His Highness the Maharaja was issued, a committee was appointed called Temple Entry Enquiry Committee. That committee toured the country and took evidence from responsible people representing all kinds of views. The report that has been presented by the Committee has been published and its details are known to all. The Travancore Government has based its orders on the report of the Committee. The conditions here are not very different from what they are in Travancore State. If at all, I think the conditions in Travancore are more backward or worse than those in Mysore. It was pointed out by Mr. Rama Iyer in the course of his speech that even high caste Hindus were not being admitted into the temples in Travancore. And we have read in newspapers that low class people were even forbidden from making use of the public roads which surround the temples. In such a place, after the proclamation, we see whole-hearted co-operation from the highest to the lowest. So far as paper reports are concerned, I do not find even one percent of the pepple protesting against the proclamation. On the other hand,, Mahatma Gandhi when he recently visited Travancore and Valkom has made a speech saying that even Nambudris

who belong to the priestly class and ~~even~~ who are very conservative in religious observances have not protested against the proclamation. What does that indicate ? From that it is very clear that they have supported and have given expression to that feeling. This shows that the people who were far behind and subjected to worse treatment than in our State, have risen in one body and co-operated with the Government. I do not see any reason, therefore, for the formation of a committee (in the State) to go into the question.

It was said that the Government are the trustees of the temples, and as such they cannot take any drastic action. I would put one question to the Government in this ~~mak~~ connection, to the Government. What about the Devadasi system ? Was it not prevalent in our Mysore State ? Were they not going to the temples every evening and offering their services there ? Why did Government do away with it ? Was it the intention of the founders or the owners of the temples that that system must be done away with by the Government ? When ~~xxx~~ ~~xx~~ a certain practice is found to be against enlightened public opinion, I think it is the duty of the Government to do away with such a practice. Has anybody opposed because the Government took action to abolish the system ~~of devadasi system ?~~ That action was taken by the Government in their capacity as the trustees of the temples and not in any other capacity. Their position has not changed now. I do not

think any new situation has now arisen in connection with this question.

So far as propaganda is concerned, it was stated by one of the hon. members that propaganda was confined to the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council. I am extremely surprised at such a statement. So many organisations have been formed and they have been carrying on, in season and out of season, intensive propaganda. They have been going ~~xx~~ into the rural parts and delivering series of lectures. Otherwise there would not have been a change of mentality in the caste Hindus. A few speeches in the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council will never convert the mentality of the people.

It was stated by one of the members that the sacredness of the temples will be very much affected in case temples are thrown ~~open~~ open to one and all without any distinction. It is said by people who are well versed in Shastras that during the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Vedic age, there was no idol worship. Agama Shastras are not as old as Vedas. When they are opposed to the Vedas, the Vedas must prevail. This opinion has been expressed by ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ Pandits like Sundara rama Iyer. I shall read only one sentence as regards ~~xxx~~ his opinion on the Agamas and Vedas. He says:

" The Agama Sastras, however useful for maintenance of social order, can never act such a way as to prevent our adjustments i accordance with the precepts and injunctio the Vedas, direct and implied. As the Agamas can never have authority over-riding the V we can always retain or reject or modify current practices which accord with the V

but not with the Vedas....."

So, in case a committee of pandits and people ~~representing~~ representing other views is formed, it will find out some solution for all these arguments. But since the Government have not committed themselves to the formation of any committee, it is necessary to point out that Agamas do not come in our way. In case the Agama Sastras ~~were in our~~ had been in the way, the great Ramanujacharya would never have thrown open the temples at Melkote ~~amexthexpixnex~~ to the people. Only yesterday, Mr. Garudachar said that he has been visiting the ~~xempixx~~ Melkote temple for the past 28 or 29 years, and that the Harijans were not taking full advantage of the privilege they had. I am surprised at the complaint.

MR. S.P. RAJAGOPALACHARI: During those particular three days, he said.

MR. P. SUBBARAMA CHETTY: It was also stated by the Deputy Commissioner, Mysore District, ~~xx~~ that even as regards one community people going in procession along the roads inhabited by other communities, there has been much trouble. No doubt, there are such cases. But their number is not large. Their number is very small. And when the people come to know that the ~~pexpix~~ Government are against any such practice, people themselves will not raise any objections. I may tell you that during the last Ganapathi procession, the ~~Harijan~~ procession of the Harijans with their God passed through every road along with the main procession and I did not

hear even one voice protesting against it. Such a thing would not have been possible in olden days. It is only as a result of propaganda that such a change could have been brought about, The Deputy Commissioner, Mysore District, was able to quote some instances. Instances in a large number can be quoted to prove that the mentaility of the people has changed and so on account of some stray instances here and there, we must not take very serious notice of such happenings. The Muzrai Commissioner has said that he is in sympathy with the object of the objects of the resolution. What I want is that this sympathy must be translated into action. As regards other matters the Government are very liberal and nobody has done as much as the Government of Mysore to the Harijan community, for which the community has to be very grateful.-But as regards this question of temple entry, I am sorry they have not done as much as they should have done. I only pray Government to be more sympathetic. ~~They must be more sympathetic~~ and translate their sympathy into action.

MR. S.P. RAJAGOPALACHARI: What does the hon. Member want to do about the resolution ?

MR. P. SUBBARAMA CHETTY: I do not press the proposition in case the Government will sympathetically consider the suggestion to appoint a committee.